AHMAD SHAH DURRANI

FATHER OF MODERN AFGHANISTAN

by

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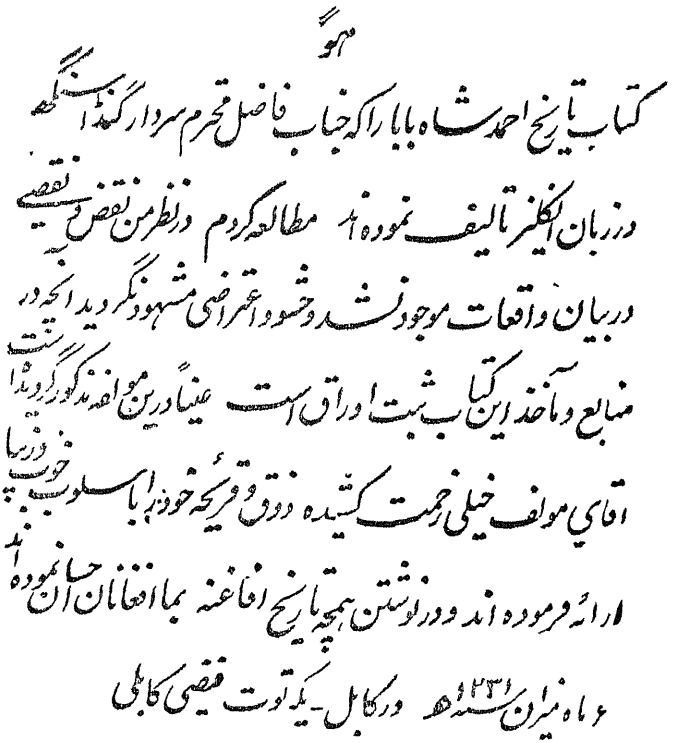
FOREWORD

by His Excellency Sardar Faiz Muhammad Khan Faizi, Kabul
(*Facsimile*)



هوَ

کتاب تاریخ احمد شاه بابا را که جناب فاضل محترم سردار گنڈا سنگھ
در زبان انگلیز تالیف نموده اند مطالعه کردم در نظر من نقص و نقصی
در بیان واقعات موجود نشد و شود و اعتراضی مشهود نگردید انچه در
منابع و ماخذ این کتاب ثبت اوراق است عیناً درین مجموعه مندرج گردیده است
اقای مولف خیلی زحمت کشیده ذوق و قریحه خود را باسلوب خوب و زیبا
ارائه فرموده اند و در نوشتن همچو تاریخ افاغنه بما افغانان احسان نموده اند

۶ ماه میزان سنه ۱۳۳۱ هـ در کابل - یکه توت فیضی کابلی

HE IS

I have gone through the history of Ahmad Shāh Bābā written in English by the honoured scholar Sardar Ganda Singh. In my opinion the narration of events is faithful and faultless, and is free from superfluities and objectionable matter. Whatever is written in the original material and sources of this book has been faithfully recorded here. The author has taken great pains to express his fine taste and genius in a charming and beautiful style and, in writing such a history of the Afghans as this, he has placed us, the people of Afghanistan, under a debt of gratitude.

Yaka-tut, Kabul,
Mizan 1, 1331 H (Sh.)
[September 29, 1952]

Faizi Kabuli

PREFACE

It would perhaps look strange for a Sikh to write so enthusiastically of an Afghan hero. An average student of history knows the Sikhs and the Afghans only as antagonists, meeting in the battle-field with swords drawn in relentless hostility. But to those who have known them more intimately, they would appear to possess many a similar feature of character. They are alike in physical build, mental attitude and natural tendencies. Both are unsophisticated, rough and vigorous, beating the ploughshare into a sword when the occasion demands it. As the narrative of Ahmad Shah Durrani's life, apart from his efforts at unifying and consolidating the Afghan territories, deals mostly with the Afghan-Sikh struggle for supremacy in the Panjab, a Sikh alone can best understand and appreciate the traits and aspirations of the Afghan empire-builder in the eighteenth century when his own forefathers too had embarked on a similar career.

It was some twenty-five years ago that, in the course of my researches in the eighteenth-century history of Northern India, Ahmad Shah Durrani first struck me as a great historical figure of Central Asia. I had been born and brought up in prejudices against him and had heard of him only as a robber chief who swooped down upon India for plunder and carried away to Afghanistan tons of Indian gold and thousands of Hindu slaves. But the more I read of him, the more impressed I became with traits of his greatness irresistibly presenting themselves to my mind. To me he appeared to be as great as, if not greater than, Nadir Shah of Iran, of whom I had studied a great deal during my stay in that country and during my association with the late Sir Arnold T. Wilson when he was compiling his *Bibliography of Persia* in the nineteen-twenties In vain did I look for a comprehensive biography of Ahmad Shah. I was surprised that he had not received sufficient attention from scholars and writers and that he had not been given his merited place as a great

conqueror and administrator and, above all, as the resuscitator and deliverer, if not the founder, of a great Asian nation.

I am glad I have been able to render some service to the history of the Afghans by writing this long-overdue biography and making a beginning, however humble, in research in the history of modern Afghanistan. This Life of Ahmad Shah is a plain unvarnished account of the strenuous career of a supreme representative of the simple and brave people of unsophisticated Afghanistan as it was in the eighteenth century. I have striven herein to rescue the fair name of the great man from the weight of the obloquy under which it had lain so long, entombed by the lava-floods of religious and racial prejudices of both the Indians and the Iranis.

While trying to produce a portrait of Ahmad Shah such as shall do justice to his great qualities, I have done nothing to hide or explain away the weaknesses which he had in common with his fellowmen. Of course, it would be unfair to judge him by the standards of to-day. I shall feel richly repaid for my labours in the preparation of this work if, through it, Ahmad Shah's figure regains some of its real character.

The task of writing a biography of Ahmad Shah presents special difficulties. In the first place, there is a great dearth of authentic records of his activities. Secondly, his military operations and conquests were spread over several countries, and the accounts of his exploits abroad, written in different languages, lie scattered far and wide. Most of the material on Ahmad Shah's life is in the Persian language in old manuscripts, in search of which I had to undertake extensive tours throughout the country for about three months every year from 1933 to 1946. I have ransacked almost all important libraries in India, including those at Lahore, Amritsar, Kapurthala, Patiala, Deoband, Delhi, Rampur (U.P.), Aligarh, Lucknow, Banaras, Bankipore (Patna), Calcutta, Hyderabad (Deccan), Poona, Bombay and Dhulia. There is hardly any Persian manuscript on the subject that I have not consulted. Of those not available in India, I obtained rotograph copies from the British Museum and

India Office, London, and from Sir Jadunath Sarkar. I also visited the libraries of Kabul and Qandahar in Afghanistan in search of original documents and manuscripts, of which, however, there are not many in the Afghan archives.

For the Marathi material, I examined the Parasnis collection at Satara, since transferred to the Deccan College and Post-Graduate Institute, Poona, the library of Rao Bahadur Dr. G. S. Sardesai at Kamshet and the collections of the Rajwade Itihas Samshodhak Mandal and the Satkaruttejak Mandal, Dhulia, West Khandesh. I have also consulted the relevant volumes of Sardesai's *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar,* published by the Bombay Government, and a few other similar series including Parasnis' *Dillī yéthīl Marāthiānchī Rājkaranén.*

It is a great pity that no contemporary records of the Sikhs in the form of despatches, diaries, letters or newssheets like those of the Marathas are available. The reason is not far to seek. Sword had been the sole standby of the Sikh Sardars of the eighteenth century and their followers who had not had the time and opportunity to learn the use of pen. Since the reign of Bahadur Shah (1707-12), they had been under an official ban. They were not only outlawed but, according to an Imperial order of Emperor Bahadur Shah, dated Shawwal 29, 1122 A.H. (Bahādur Shāhī 4), December 10, 1710, they were also to be killed at sight wherever found—*Nānak-prastān rā har jā kih ba-yāband baqatl rasānand* [*Akhbār-i-Darbār-i-Muallā*]. The order was repeated by Emperor Farrukh Siyar in 1716 after the execution of Banda Singh, saying: "Wherever the followers of this sect are found, they should be unhesitatingly killed." This persecution of the Sikhs continued with more or less rigour for over forty years and ended only in November, 1753, with the death of Mir Mannu during whose time movable columns were despatched from the provincial headquarters at Lahore to hunt them down like wild beasts, and prices were fixed for their heads. During this period they had to leave their homes and seek shelter in hills, jungles and deserts and they had to struggle hard for their very existence. Their Gurdwaras and stocks of

books were all burnt down. It was only in the Malwa districts, south of the Sutlej, that they had some repose. But there too they had no facilities for education. The Sikhs had also no Brahmans and Kayasths to work for them as writers. The Muslims in those days were opposed to them as a class. No Muslim scholar or poet, therefore, recorded their history. The result was that the Sikhs of the eighteenth century only *made* history: they had no time to write it. Had there been no Ratan Singh Bhangu to write the *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh,* based on the information received from his father Rai Singh and maternal grandfather Sardar Shyam Singh of Narli and other Sikh Sardars, who were contemporaries of Ahmad Shah, the eighteenth-century history of the Sikhs would have remained mostly a matter of surmise and many a detail of the Shah's expeditions against them would have been lost to history for ever. Another very important Panjabi work is the *Bansavali Namah Dasan Patshahian ka,* by Kesar Singh Chhibbar, completed in January-March, 1780. It is an eye-witness account of the sack of Amritsar by Ahmad Shah's men. It is in manuscript and is awaiting publication by the Sikh History Society.

A number of important original Persian books, Marathi diaries and despatches and English summaries of Persian letters received by the officers of the East India Company and replies thereto, published in a series of volumes, have been noticed in appendix X under "Some Bibliographical Notes" and mentioned in the Bibliography in appendix XI.

The civil and military administration of Ahmad Shah, his mints and coins, his genealogical table and a brief account of his descendants are given at the end in appendices I, II, III, V and VI. The attitude of the East India Company towards Ahmad Shah is given in appendix IV, while appendix VII is devoted to a brief five-page note on the Sikhs who were the Shah's stoutest opponents in northern India.

A complete chronology of the days of Ahmad Shah and other dates occurring in the text have been given in appendix VIII. In converting the Hijri, the Bikrami and the Shaka dates, I have used *An Indian Ephemeris* by Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, comparing them at the

same time with Tarkalankar and Saraswati's *Chronological Tables,* Nawal Kishore's *Taqwim-i-Yak-Sad-o-Do-Sala,* Modak's *Chronological Tables* and G. H. Khare's *Shivakalin Sampuran Shakavali.*

In writing the non-English words used in the text, I have followed the Afghan and Indian pronunciation and the Hunterian system of spelling. An effort has been made to maintain uniformity of spelling, but the Anglicized words and proper names have been allowed to retain their popular forms, such as Lahore, Delhi, Jhelum, Lucknow, etc. Absolute consistency is not a matter of importance in this case and would have, perhaps, led to a certain amount of confusion.

The portrait of Ahmad Shah has been drawn from a unique old picture which, according to His Excellency Dr. Sardar Najibullah Khan, formerly the Royal Afghan Ambassador in India, is considered to be the most authentic.

The maps of Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries have been specially prepared to illustrate the extent of the Afghan empire of Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1762, when it had reached its fullest extent, and on his death in 1772.

It is my pleasant duty to record here my acknowledgements. It was Professor Muhammad Habib, B.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, the renowned scholar of Aligarh, and his devoted colleague Shaikh Abdur Rashid, M.A., LL.B., who first encouraged me to take up this subject and I am thankful to them for many an act of kindness during my stay at the Aligarh Muslim University in 1942-44. I am highly indebted to the late Dr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar who had not only been a source of inspiration and encouragement but had also helped me by lending a number of his valuable manuscripts and rotographs. Khan Sahib Professor Sayyad Hasan Askari, M.A., of the Patna College, Patna, has always extended to me a helping hand in securing copies of Persian manuscripts from the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, and other places.

Like a true scholar with wide sympathies, Principal Sita Ram Kohli, M.A., P.E.S. (Retired), not only read my original draft and made some very valuable suggestions, but also

at times personally discussed with me in detail the debatable and controversial points and carefully went through the revised typescript. This helped me a great deal in handling the subject more dispassionately than it would have otherwise been possible, and I am extremely grateful to him.

I am also thankful to the authorities of the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore (Patna), the Asafiya and the Osmania University libraries, Hyderabad (Deccan), the Khalsa College, Amritsar, the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona, and to Maulana Imtiaz Ali Arshi of the Kitab Khana-i-Shahi, Rampur (U.P.), and the late Maulana Tufail Muhammad of the Muslim University, Aligarh, for the courtesy and help extended to me during my visits to these institutions.

I can never forget the affection with which Rao Bahadur Dr. G. S. Sardesai helped and treated me whenever I had the honour of sitting at his feet at his ancient-Rishi-like retreat at Kamshet in the Poona district. I have always received warm welcome from *Mahamahopadhyaya* Professor Datto V. Potdar of Poona who often secured for me some very rare and out-of-print Marathi publications.

I am particularly grateful to my friend Prof. Harbans Singh, M.A., Tutor to the Tikka Sahib of Faridkot, for his labour of love in going through the typescript, reading the proofs and suggesting many useful improvements. Prof. Gurcharan Singh, M.A., of the History Department of the Mahendra College, Patiala, also helped me in proof-reading and I am indebted to him for it. Sardar Dhiraj Singh, B.A., my Stenographer in the Archives Department, Patiala, deserves my sincere thanks for preparing the final typescript and my son, Pritam Singh, for drawing the maps and Shri Trilok Singh for copying some of the portraits.

I am equally beholden to the Ministry of Education, Government of India, and to the Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, for the financial assistance to cover a part of the cost of printing. Without their generosity the book could not have been sent to the press.

I must also express my sincere gratitude to His Excellency Sardar Faiz Muhammad Khan Faizi, formerly Minister

for Foreign Affairs, Afghanistan, Kabul. He very kindly read the typescript in September, 1952, when I was in Afghanistan, and discussed with me a number of historical points. I greatly appreciate his valuable opinion which I have placed in the beginning of the book as a foreword to it.

I shall be failing in my duty if I omit the name of my old friend Munshi Faiz-ul-Haq Amritsari, who for some fifteen years followed me from place to place in search of manuscripts and copied them out under my instructions. I valued his ungrudging co-operation and greatly admired his nobility of character. I lost touch with him in August, 1947, when he went over to live in Pakistan, and all my efforts to trace his whereabouts remained unsuccessful. I have now learnt with great personal regret that he passed away some time ago. May God bless his soul!

In the end, I consider it my unique privilege to record my deepest gratitude to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the great Indian savant and statesman, who showed a kindly interest in this work and looked over parts of the typescript. His sad demise recently has left a void in the cultural life of the eastern world. I had hoped to have the good fortune of personally presenting a copy of the book to him which, alas, was not to be. I shall preserve as a precious souvenir the pages of the typescript on which the Maulana Sahib made certain notes in his own hand.

Lower Mall, Patiala,
September 9, 1958.

GANDA SINGH

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE RISE OF THE ABDALIS

THE SADDOZEIS

The Abdali tribe of the Afghans to which Ahmad Shah Durrani, the subject of this work, belonged traces its origin to Abdal,[1] the fifth in descent from Qis of Israelite extraction. Qis embraced Islam during the time of Prophet Muhammad and, according to Muslim practice, was given the name of Abdur Rashid. Abdal, son of Tarin, was the grandson of Sharaf-ud-Din, whose father, Sara-ban, was the eldest son of Abdur Rashid. It does not come within the design and scope of this work to enter into genealogical details of the tribe or to dwell at length upon the history of its numerous off-shoots. Suffice it to say, for our purpose here, that the Durranis—the name acquired by Ahmad Shah on his coming to power and subsequently retained by his followers and descendants—are descended from the first wife of Abdal, whose grandson Suleman, alias Zirak, son of Isa, was the immediate ancestor of the Popalzeis, the Barakzeis, the Alikozeis and the Musazeis. To the Popalzeis belonged Umar, whose second son Saddo[2]—the sixteenth from Abdur Rashid—lent his name to the branch of his descendants, called the Saddozeis. Saddo

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1. According to some writers, Abdal was not his real name. It was the title conferred upon him by the well-known Muslim saint, Khawaja Abu Ahmad Abdal of the Chishti order in appreciation of his service and devotion.

2. His real name was Assadulla, Saddo being the nickname by which he was popularly known. He is believed to have been born in the month of Zil-hijja 965 A.H. (September-October 1558 A.D.), during the reign of Shah Tahmasp Safavi of Iran. At the age of ninety, his father, Umar—eight years before his death—appointed Saddo his successor and performed the 'belt and sword-girding' ceremony with his own hands. Saddo was only twenty-five years old then. But this talented young man was so promising and popular that his elevation to the chiefship of the tribe was welcomed and acclaimed by all, including his sixty years old brother Malik Saleh.

had five sons, of whom the second, Khwaja Khizar Khan, became the head of the Khizar-Khel clan. Khwaja Khizar was a godly man and is still worshipped by the Afghans as a favourite saint to whom offers of *Nazar-o-niaz,* presents and prayers, are made on all solemn occasions. The devotion and awe, inspired by this holy personage, lent a sense of sanctity to the whole clan of Saddozeis, and its members enjoyed peculiar privileges. 'Their persons were sacred; no punishment could be inflicted on them, except by one of their own family; nor could even the head of the Abdalees himself pass sentence of death upon a Saddozye.'[3]

Towards the end of his life, Saddo wished to appoint Khwaja Khizar Khan the head of the tribe, but his choice was rejected by the chiefs of the various clans in favour of Maghdud Khan, Khizar's elder brother, on the ground of his primogenitary right. On the death of Saddo, however, the tribesmen unanimously elected Khizar Khan to the high office considering him better fitted for its duties and responsibilities.

SHER KHAN SADDOZEI

Khizar was succeeded by his older son, Khuda-dad, who was believed to have received the title of *Sultan* from Emperor Aurangzeb of India and was known among the Afghans as *Sultan Khudakei.*[4] Not long afterwards, however, he resigned his office in favour of his younger brother, Sher Khan, by way of repentance for the murder of an innocent man and three infants. For himself, he agreed to serve as a deputy to his own nominee. Sher Khan occasionally

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3. *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Afghani; Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* 4-5; *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi,* 4-6; *Saulat-i-Afghani,* 336-7; Nash, *History of the War in Afghanistan,* 23; *Hayat-i-Afghani,* 115, 122-3.

This Khwaja Khizar Khan should not, however, be confused with the mythical Immortal prophet of *Ab-i-Hayat* fame, although he had, to some extent, displaced him from among the Afghan tribes. According to a tradition among the Saddozeis, mentioned in the *Hayāt-i-Afghani,* this Khizar was born as a result of the blessings of the prophet Khizar and was so named after him This weighed in his favour at the time of his nomination by his tribesmen. (See p. 123.)

4. *Hayat-i-Afghani,* 123-4; *Saulat-i-Afghani,* 337-8.

came into conflict with the Persian Governor of Qandahar, Beglar Begi,[5] who set up a rival to him in the person of Shah Husain, son of Maghdud Khan, with the title of *Mirza*. But this *Mirza* satellite of the Persians could not, for long, retain their favour, his party dwindled into insignificance with his disgraceful fall, resulting in his imprisonment at the hands of his patron. The dejected Mirza then made up with Sher Khan and retired to India for a safer asylum.[6] From him descended the ancestors of Nawab Muzzaffar Khan, the last Afghan governor of Multan, who fell fighting in his desperate struggle against Maharaja Ranjit Singh in June 1818.[7]

DAULAT KHAN SADDOZEI

Sher Khan, while out on a hunting excursion at the age of sixty-five, had a fatal fall from his horse. Before his death he called Bakhtiar Khan—a descendant of Saleh Khan, son of Umar—to his side and entrusted to him the care of his son, Sarmast Khan. Sarmast, in turn, bequeathed his heritage to his minor son, Daulat Khan, under the guardianship of his cousin Hayat Sultan, son of Sultan Khuda-dad. On coming of age, Daulat Khan got into difficulties with the Persian governor of Qandahar, resulting from the weakness of his guardian, Hayat Khan, who left the country and sought shelter in the neighbourhood of Multan.[8]

But Daulat Khan was a man of a different mould. He defeated in two battles the Persian expeditionary forces sent against him, and won name and fame for himself among the Afghans.[9] Daulat Khan's victories not only raised him in the estimation of his people, but also shattered the popular belief in the invincibility of the Persians. This frightened the Safavi court of Iran. They were then guided by a bigoted ascetic, Shah Husain, who was nothing but a puppet in the hands of corrupt priests and eunuchs. As Malleson tells us

5. According to *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, p 61, Beglar Begi was appointed the governor of Qandahar in 1105 A.H. (1693-94 A.D.).

6. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 61-64; *Saulat-i-Afghani*, 338; *Hayat-i-Afghani*, 123-4.

7. *Saulat-i-Afghani*, 338; *Hayat-i-Afghani*, 125.

8. *Waqa-i-Multan*, 19; *Saulat-i-Afghani*, 339, *Hayat-i-Afghani*, 126.

9. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 66.

in his *History of the Afghans,* 'the measures taken by Shah Abbas the Great, by his successors of the same name, and by Sulaiman, to ensure the contentment of the Afghan tribes, came gradually to be relaxed under the rule of Sultan Husen,' with the inevitable result that the subject 'tribes, the Ghilzais especially, were not slow to betray their discontent.' Though there were no actual popular revolts, the demonstrations they made in the successful defensives, like those of Daulat Khan Saddozei, mentioned above, were so strong that, for some time, the effete advisers of Husain hesitated as to the measures they should take to meet them.[10]

GURGIN KHAN

The governor of Qandahar was recalled and in his place was deputed the ablest general of the empire, a Georgian convert to Islam, Gurgin Khan, later on surnamed Shah Nawaz Khan. He was a man of great talents and had distinguished himself by his military skill and severity. Against Daulat Khan, he brought into play all his political diplomacy and stratagem. On arrival at Qandahar in 1702, he sent a large number of valuable presents to the Abdali chief and entered into friendly negotiations with him. He knew that the Afghans were not then a united people. The spirit of self-sacrifice and concord that goes to make a homogeneous nation was absent. Gurgin Khan could, therefore, easily play upon the selfish interests of the Afghan chiefs and make them dance to the tune of his *divide et empera* chords. There was no dearth of such men among the Abdalis, nay, among the Saddozeis themselves. He took into his hands two of Daulat Khan's worst opponents, the Saddozeis Izzat and Atal, and assured them of undisputed *Sardari* of the Abdalis when the obstacle of Daulat Khan was removed from the way.[11] He also encouraged the ambitions of a Ghalzei, Haji Amir Khan Hotak, popularly known as Mir Wais, to supreme leadership of the Afghans. This, as Gurgin Khan put it to him, could come to fruition only if the possibility of opposition from the

10. Malleson, *History of Afghanistan,* 211.

11. *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 66-7; *Saulat-i-Afghani,* 49-50; *Hayat-i-Afghani,* 65-66; Ferrier, *History of the Afghans,* 24.

only quarter of his solitary rival, Daulat Khan, could be eliminated. The two Saddozeis and the Hotak readily agreed to work out the Georgian's plan. Not long afterwards, an opportunity offered itself. Daulat Khan happened to take his quarters in a subterranean residence outside the fort of Shahr Safa. Quietly the conspirators availed themselves of the darkness of night and surprised the place. Daulat Khan, his son Nazar Khan, and a slave named Faqir, were made prisoners and carried to the governor, who ordered them to be put to the sword.[12]

RUSTAM KHAN AND ZAMAN KHAN SADDOZEI

Daulat Khan had three sons, one of whom, Nazar Khan, had shared his father's fate. The other two were Rustam Khan and Zaman Khan. Even in that distracted state of affairs, when their own personal safety was in danger, nothing could induce them to bow to the Georgian. Gurgin, therefore, offered to acknowledge Rustam Khan as the head of the Abdalis if he would, in return, hand over to him his younger brother, Zaman Khan, as a hostage. Rustam Khan consulted the chiefs of the tribe who preferred this course to allowing their leadership to pass into the unworthy hands of the treacherous tyrants.[13]

Rustam Khan, then, became the acknowledged head of his tribe. The hostage, Zaman Khan, was sent by Gurgin Khan to the distant province of Kirman where he could be easily watched by the Persians. Rustam soon won the confidence of the Persian governor and gained superiority over the other Afghan chiefs. This was very distasteful to his Abdali and Ghalzei opponents. At this time, as ill luck would have it, came the revolt of the Baluchis, which Rustam was called upon by Gurgin to suppress. The expedition was a dismal failure. Rustam came back defeated with a heavy loss of life and property. This helped the Ghalzei and his Saddozei accomplices. They represented Rustam as a traitor to the cause of the Persian empire and his defeat as of his own seeking. The infuriated Georgian threw him into prison and

12. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 67.
13. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 67.

ordered his immediate execution. The clever Ghalzei then withdrew to the background and, with Gurgin's consent, pushed forward the Saddozeis to do this nefarious work. At the last moment something from within Izzat revolted against it and he shuddered at the thought of touching with a sharp iron edge the sacred person of a Saddozei and shedding his innocent blood. But Atal's vision was blinded by the dazzling prospect of the coveted leadership of the Abdalis. His conscience had been deadened by repeated acts of similar barbarity. He, therefore, put Rustam to death and became a willing tool in the hands of a foreign usurper for the destruction of his own people.[14]

MIR WAIS GHALZEI AND HIS DESCENDANTS

It did not, however, take him long to be disillusioned and meet a worse fate. Gurgin Khan offered to Atal the leadership of the Abdalis on the condition that he brought them to reside in the neighbourhood of Qandahar. There, he thought, their activities could be easily watched and counteracted and his own secret designs conveniently worked out. Atal, evidently, was too thick-headed for the wily Georgian and blindly walked into the trap. The leaderless Abdalis, frightened by the severities of Gurgin Khan, agreed to move out of their inaccessible recesses into the open suburbs of Qandahar. Mir Wais was privy to, if not actual instigator of, Gurgin's criminal designs against the unsuspecting Abdalis who, under cover of a dark night, were subjected to an indiscriminate massacre. Those who escaped slaughter were made prisoners and exiled to the province of Kirman. This happened about the year 1707, after which, for some time, the Abdalis receded into the background, and the Ghalzeis, under the leadership of Mir Wais, appeared on the stage with their successful struggles against the Persians and their declaration of Afghan independence at Qandahar (1709).[15]

It may be briefly stated that Mir Wais soon paid Gurgin Khan in his own coin. Not long after the massacre of the Abdalis, Gurgin Khan seized Mir Wais also and sent him as

14. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 67-8.
15. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 68-9.

a prisoner to the Persian capital. There he soon gained influence with the court through his wealth and became a favourite of the Shah. On his return to Qandahar to be restored to his former position, Wais developed friendly relations with Gurgin Khan. Gurgin was thus lulled into a sense of false security and was murdered at an entertainment party to which he was invited by the Ghalzei. Mir Wais then proclaimed the independence of the Afghans at Qandahar (1709).[16] Three powerful Persian armies, one after the other, were sent against him, but Wais inflicted crushing defeats on them and made his independence secure. He died in November, 1715, and was succeeded by Mir Abdul Aziz, also known as Abdullah (1715-16). Abdullah soon lost the confidence of his people and was assassinated in March, 1716, by Wais's son Mir Mahmud, who not only consolidated the Afghan kingdom of Qandahar but also pulled down the Safavi dynasty from the Persian throne which he occupied displacing Shah Husain in March, 1722. The Ghalzei rule in Persia lasted for only eight years and was brought to an end in 1730 by Nadir Shah who conquered the Afghan dominions of Qandahar in 1736 and of Kabul, then a Mughal province, in 1738.[17]

THE ABDALIS AS MASTERS OF HERAT
ABDULLAH KHAN

The successes of Mir Wais in driving the Persians out of Qandahar and the proclamation of the independence of the Ghalzeis fired the other Afghan tribes with the idea of revolt. The most prominent among them were the Abdalis of Herat. They invited Abdullah Khan, son of Hayat Khan, from Multan to which place the latter had retired during the time of Daulat Khan. The Heratis had a double purpose in this

16. Ferrier, 28-9; Malleson, 225-6; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 68-9; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 3.

17. Cf. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri;* Lockhart, *Nadir Shah;* Ferrier, 25-33; Malleson, 211-66. For a detailed study of Mir Wais, see Sayyad Muhhammad al-Musawi's *Kitab-i-Tahqiq-o-Tadad-i-Aqwam-i-Afghan* (B.M. Ms. Or. 1861) and *Mir-Ways,* the Persian Cromwell, by a Swedish Officer, London, 1724; *Husain Shahi,* 6-7; *Tarikh-i-Ahmed,* 5-6; *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 97-8.

move, the ostensible one being to wreak their vengeance upon Mir Wais against whom a powerful Persian army was then, in 1711, advancing under the command of Gurgin Khan's nephew, Khusrau Khan. Inwardly, they wished to consolidate their strength under an influential leader and to strike for their freedom from the Persian yoke as and when an opportunity came to hand. Abdullah Khan with his son, Asadullah, hastened to the standard of Khusrau Khan and offered him assistance against the Ghalzei. This won him influence with the Georgian commander, and, with his help, he became the acknowledged head of the Abdalis. The expedition of Khusrau Khan was, however, a failure and he lost his life at the time of his retreat from Qandahar. Another attempt of the Shah also met with a similar fate. But the successor of Mir Wais, Mir Abdullah (1715-16), showed an intention of making peace with Persia and sent a mission to Isfahan for this purpose. Abdullah Khan and his son came to Herat. Abbas Quli Khan Shamlu, the governor of Herat, apprehended some danger for the Persian rule in Herat at their hands, and he threw them both into prison. At this time the Qizzilbashes of Herat turned against Shamlu and put him aside During the interim—before Shamlu's successor, Jafar Quli Khan Astajlu, arrived in Herat—Abdullah Khan and his son escaped to the western hills of Doshakh.[18] Collecting from there a large number of their tribesmen, and with reinforcements from the neighbourhood of Bakua and Farrah, they marched upon Herat. Jafar Quli Khan issued out to meet them. In the battle that ensued the Afghans got the better of their adversaries and Jafar fell into their hands. The Abdalis laid siege to the city. The resistance was stout but, as no succour arrived from Persia, the friends of the Abdalis inside the city succeeded in admitting the besiegers by the Filkhana tower during the dark night of the 26th of Shaban, 1129 A H., July 26, 1717. The Abdalis thus became masters of Herat and declared their independence.[19] It,

18. *Husain Shahi*, 6-7; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 5-6; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 97-8

19. For this account, I have drawn upon the *Tarikh-i-Sultani* by Sultan Muhammad Khan ibn Musa Khan Durrani (Mohammadi Press, Bombay, 1298 A H.). Ferrier in his *History of the Afghans*, p. 35-36,

[Continued on p. 9

however, received its final touches two years later, in 1719, when Asadullah Khan defeated a powerful Persian army, thirty thousand strong, under the command of Safi Quli Khan, with only fifteen thousand Afghans.[20]

Then began a series of struggles between the two rival tribes of the Ghalzeis and the Abdalis and, in 1132 A.H., 1720 A.D., Asadullah Khan was killed at Dilaram on the bank of the Kash Rud in a contest for the fort of Farrah that he had captured from the Ghalzeis [21]

The death of his promising son Asadullah Khan shocked the aged father Abdullah Khan. No longer being in a healthy state of mind, he was replaced, with the help of Abdul Ghani Alikozei, by Zaman Khan Saddozei (brother of Rustam Khan) who had by then returned from his exile in Kirman. Further misfortunes overtook Abdullah Khan when, at the instigation of Jafar Khan Astajlu, who was then set at

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[Continued from p 8

followed by Malleson's *History of Afghanistan*, p. 236-237, gives a different account. According to Ferrier, the Persian Governor of Herat then was 'Zaman Khan Koortchee Bashi' to whom Hayat Sultan Saddozei, anxious to obtain certain favours, had sent his beautiful young 'son' Asadullah for unnatural crime The crime accomplished, the unfortunate youth, on his escape from the Persian camp, appealed to the sense of honour of his tribe and seized and imprisoned his parent, and then surprised the Koortchee Bashi and killed him. After this the victorious youth marched on Herat, and, having obtained an entrance into the city, exterminated the few Persians he found there. After this he again took the field and made himself, almost without opposition, the master of the whole province, which on the 26th of Ramzan, 1128 A H., 1716 A D, he constituted as an independent principality.

This seems to be incredible on the very face of it. Asadullah, in the first place, was the grandson, not the son, of Hayat Sultan And, then, there is the difference in the name of the Governor. The *Saulat-i-Afghani* has further confused Zaman Khan *Koortchee Bashi* with Zaman Khan *Saddozei*, the father of Ahmad Shah Durrani. See p. 340. Cf. *Hayat-i-Afghani*, 127.

20. *Husain Shahi*, 7; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 5-6, 97-98, *Saulat-i-Afghani*, 340; Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii, 311.

21. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 99. Lockhart in *Nadir Shah*, p. 31, places this event in 1718. The town of Dilaram lies on the road from Qandahar to Herat, between Girishk and Farrah, being 75 miles from Girishk and 83 miles from Farrah Muhammad Ali's *Guide*, p. 91.

liberty, or through the personal jealousy of the new chief, he was thrown into prison, and was there, as it is alleged, poisoned or otherwise done to death by Zaman Khan.[22]

Very little of the exploits of Zaman Khan as the chief of the Abdalis is known to history. He remained at the head of the tribe for about two and a half years and on his death was succeeded in 1135 A.H., 1722-23 A.D., by Muhammad Khan, a brother of Asadullah Khan, son of the murdered Abdullah Khan.[23]

ZULFIQAR KHAN

In the winter of 1722-23, Muhammad Khan marched on Mashhad and besieged it for four months, but failed to take it. This brought him into disgrace with his tribe and he was deposed in favour of Zulfiqar Khan, the elder son of Zaman Khan, whose younger son Ahmed Khan afterwards became famous as Ahmad Shah Durrani. In 1137 A.H., 1724-25 A.D., Rahman, a son of the murdered Abdullah Khan, sought to avenge his father's murder by attacking Zulfiqar Khan. The internecine feud continued for some time and came to an end through the mediation of some of the elders of the Abdali tribe, who sent Zulfiqar Khan towards Bakharz and Rehman towards Qandahar. Allahyar Khan, son of Abdullah Khan, and a brother of the former governor, Muhammad Khan, was invited from Multan and was elected the chief of the tribe in 1138 A.H., 1725-26 A.D. At this stage Abdul Ghani Khan Alikozei, the maternal uncle of Zulfiqar Khan, reappeared on the scene. He was naturally interested in the advancement and safety of his sister's family, particularly of her three-year-old son, Ahmad Khan, whose safety could be ensured only by keeping Zulfiqar Khan either in power or under his

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22. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, p. 100. Cf. *Saulat-i-Afghani*, p. 340, and *Hayat-i-Afghani*, p. 127. Lockhart in his *Nadir Shah*, p. 31, places the event in 1718 and says that Abdullah Khan was murdered by Muhammad Zaman Khan.

23. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri*, 95; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, p. 100; *Saulat-i-Afghani*. Cf. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 31. This event must have taken place between the first week of October, when 1135 A.H. began, and the last week of December, when 1722 A.D ended, as in the same winter of 1722-23, according to Lockhart's *Nadir Shah*, we find his successor Muhammad Khan leading military operations in Mashhad.

own obligation. Under his guidance Zulfiqar Khan issued out of his retreat in Bakharz and challenged the authority of Allahyar Khan. As he was no less powerful, Allahyar Khan could not easily drive him away and the civil war continued for about six months.[24]

At this time Nadir Khan Afshar, who afterwards became famous as Emperor Nadir Shah of Persia, had captured Mashhad (16th of Rabi-ul-Akhir, 1139, November 16, 1726), and it was rumoured that he would soon march upon the Abdalis. With this common danger hovering over their borders, the Saddozei elders patched up the differences between the rival factions and brought about an amicable settlement. Allahyar Khan was allowed to continue in Herat, and Zulfiqar Khan was made the governor of Farrah.[25]

On account of his many distractions, and his differences with Tahmasp, the attack of Nadir on the Abdalis was averted for two years and four months. In the first week of Shawwal, 1141 A.H., towards the end of April, 1729 A.D., the Persian conqueror marched upon Herat. On receipt of this news, Allahyar Khan advanced from Herat to meet him. But he could not successfully oppose him. He was about to surrender when he heard that his erstwhile rival, Zulfiqar Khan, was marching to his assistance. But Nadir proved too strong even for their combined forces, and the Abdalis were reduced to subjection in June. They not only agreed to submit to him but also offered to assist the Persians against the Ghalzeis. Allahyar was appointed governor of Herat on behalf of Tahmasp, and the Persians started homewards towards the end of the month.[26]

While Nadir was busy with his first Turkish campaign, Zulfiqar made another bid for independence, heading a revolt of some of the Abdalis fomented by Husain Sultan Ghalzei of

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24. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 100-1; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 31.

The author of *Ahmad Shah Baba* thinks that Zulfiqar and Ahmad were, perhaps, not real brothers but from different mothers. According to him, there is the probability of a real brother of Ahmad Shah by the name of Ali Mardan Khan. See pp. 31-34.

25. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri*, 96.

26. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri*, 96-103; *Husain Shahi*, 7-8; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 6-7; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 102-6; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 31-4.

Qandahar early in 1730. As Allahyar Khan had refused to join the rebels in Herat, he was easily driven out with their help (April 1730). Encouraged by his initial success, Zulfiqar Khan advanced on Mashhad and defeated its commander, Ibrahim Khan (brother of Nadir Khan), who had sallied out to meet the invader (Saturday, the 13th of Muharram, 1143 A.H., July 18, 1730 A.D.). The siege of the city was continued for thirty-one days. Zulfiqar Khan then returned to Herat.[27]

Nadir Khan came back to Mashhad on the last day of Rabi-us-Sani, 1143, Saturday, October 31, 1730, and on Saturday, the 15th of Ramzan of the same year, March 13, 1731, left it for the final subjugation of the Abdalis of Herat. Zulfiqar Khan made a desperate struggle for the independence of his tribe and was joined by the Ghalzei forces of Sultan Husain of Qandahar under the command of Muhammad Saidal Khan. But Nadir drove them back and invested the city of Herat early in May. After having been besieged for two months, Zulfiqar emerged from Herat on the 17th of Muharram, 1144 A.H., July 11, 1731 A.D., but was repelled. This discouraged Saidal Khan, and, on the advice of some of the Abdali chiefs, he secretly marched away with his Ghalzeis. Zulfiqar Khan, at last, sued for peace, and Nadir was pleased to grant it. In response to the request of Zulfiqar and the Abdalis, Allahyar was reappointed governor of Herat, which he occupied on 18th of Safar, August 11. Zulfiqar Khan returned to Farrah.[28]

Encouraged either by the strength of Herat's defences, or by the combination at Isfaraz of the forces of Zulfiqar Khan with 40,000 fresh Ghalzeis under Saidal, then rumoured to be advancing against the exhausted Persians, Allahyar Khan renounced his allegiance to Nadir and kept the flag of Afghan independence flying. But Nadir was too strong for the weakened and disunited Abdalis and the vigour of his retaliation broke all resistance. By making proposals of peace in the middle of December, 1731, Allahyar Khan tried

27. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri*, 141-6; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 106-7; *Saulat-i-Afghani*, 340; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 51-2.

28. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri*, 156-72; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 109-15.

to gain time, but their withdrawal immediately after they had been accepted by Nadir exasperated the latter beyond all clemency. The siege was tightened and by vigorous assaults the city was forced to surrender on the 1st of Ramzan, 1144 A.H., February 16, 1732, when Allahyar Khan surrendered for the last time and retired to Multan. Nadir Khan could no longer leave Herat in the hands of the Abdalis. He occupied it and entrusted its administration to a Persian governor, Pir Muhammad Sultan.[29]

At the same time Zulfiqar Khan was also driven from Farrah. To avoid the possibility of the combined forces of Zulfiqar Khan and the Ghalzeis under Saidal Khan reinforcing the besieged in Herat, Nadir had detailed his brother, Ibrahim Khan, against Farrah, which fell as soon as the defeated Allahyar Khan was seen there on his way to Multan. Zulfiqar Khan and his younger brother, Ahmad Khan, fled away to seek shelter at Qandahar where they were thrown into prison by their self-sought host, Mir Husain, and were released only when Nadir Shah conquered that place in March, 1738.[30]

But Nadir Shah was not to be satisfied with the fall of Herat and Farrah and the flights of Allahyar Khan and Zulfiqar Khan so long as their Abdali tribesmen were there in the country with a host of clannish chiefs at their head. They would come back, he thought, as soon as he turned his back upon their country. He, therefore, decided upon their wholesale clearance from Afghanistan and exiled as many as six thousand of them, along with Ghani Khan Alikozei and Nur Muhammad Khan Ghalzei, to the districts of Mashhad, Nishapur and Damghan in the province of Khurasan, to which he had some time previously transferred a ten times larger number of Afshars and other Persian tribes. Some of the Abdali chiefs, however, were taken into service and kept under his personal surveillance.[31]

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29. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri*, 172-9; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 115-18; Lockhart, 54.

30. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri*, 179-82, 328; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 118.

31. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri*, 179-82; Lockhart, 52, 54.

Thus was sealed the fate of the Abdalis for some six years to come. During this period they regained the confidence of Nadir and, by his grace in 1738, were restored to their original homes in Herat and Qandahar. Their independence, however, took nine years more to return, when in 1747, after the death of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Khan, brother of Zulfiqar Khan, was elected the grand-chief of the tribe and was crowned as the *Shah* of the Afghans under the royal title of Ahmad Shah *Durr-i-Durran.*

CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE OF AHMAD SHAH

Ahmad Khan, as Ahmad Shah Durrani was named by his parents, was the second son of Zaman Khan Abdali of the Saddozei clan and was born of Zarghuna Alikozei in 1722 at Multan.[1] His father was then the governor of Herat and died within a few months of Ahmad Khan's birth. The times were not favourable for the family. Zarghuna felt anxious about the safety of her child and sought the protection of Haji Ismail Khan of Alizei clan, the new governor of Herat, by offering him the hand of her daughter. Ismail Khan took a lively interest in Ahmad and sent him towards Sabzawar

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1. The exact date of Ahmad Khan's birth is not known to history. The year 1722, given in the text above, is based on mathematical calculations guided by a few references to his age that we come across in historical works. On the authority of Persian writers, Lockhart in his *Nadir Shah* gives the age of Ahmad Khan, at the time of Nadir Shah's conquest of Qandahar in 1738, between 14 and 16 years (p. 120), and at his death in 1747, between 23 and 25 (p. 261). The former figures would place his birth in 1724 which cannot be reconciled with the death of his father, Zaman Khan, which took place between the last week of October, 1722, when the year 1135 A H. began and the last week of December, when (in the winter of 1722-23) his successor Muhammad Khan was seen leading military operations at Mashhad. Even if he were a posthumous child, which does not seem to be correct, he should have been born by August, 1723. We are, therefore, left with the only alternative of placing his birth in 1722 by taking his age to be 16 years in 1738 and twenty-five in 1747.

As to his birth-place, we know that his father Zaman Khan came to power in 1720 and there is nothing on record to show that he ever visited Multan between 1720 and 1722. As such, the tradition of Ahmad Khan having been born at Multan, as mentioned in Imam-ud-Din al-Hussaini's *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi*, p. 11, can be correct only on the assumption that, on account of troubled times in Herat, his mother was sent to Multan for child-birth. Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar, the author of *Ahmad Shah Baba-i-Afghan*, does not agree with this. According to him Ahmad Shah was born at Herat in 1135 A H. (October 1722-September 1723) during the lifetime of his father (pp. 35-41).

and Farrah How and where he spent his life up to the age of ten, we do not know. We next hear of him in February, 1732, when after the defeat of his brother, Zulfiqar Khan, at Farrah, we find him flying for life and shelter towards Qandahar. There both the brothers were thrown into prison by Mir Husain, the Ghalzei ruler of the place, either for his old tribal enmity against, or for any danger that he then apprehended at the hands of, the Abdalis under Zulfiqar Khan.[2]

During the next seven years, 1732-38, the Abdali contingent of Nadir rendered him yeoman's service in the extension and consolidation of his power, and he looked upon them as the backbone of his empire. He was particularly pleased with their services during his campaign in Daghistan in 1147 A.H., 1734-35 A.D., and promised on one occasion to grant any boon that they asked of him. The Abdali chiefs, the leading amongst them then being Allahyar Khan Saddozei, sagaciously availed themselves of the offer and begged of him to be restored to their original homes in Afghanistan. They further requested that all the Abdali families exiled to the province of Khurasan in 1732 be sent back to their motherland, and that Qandahar be released from under the Ghalzeis and given to them. Nadir agreed to grant them their wishes as soon as he was able to establish his power in Qandahar. And he literally fulfilled his promise in 1738.[3]

NADIR CONQUERS QANDAHAR

Concluding a truce with Turkey and thoroughly crushing the Bakhtiaris in 1736, Nadir returned to his capital, reaching there on the 9th of Jamadi-us-Sani, 1149 A.H., October 4, 1736. Immediately he began completing arrangements for his long-planned campaign against Qandahar. He set out against the Ghalzeis on 17th of Rajjab, 1149 A.H., November 10, 1736. He marched via Kirman and Sistan, and crossing the Sistan-Qandahar border on the 2nd of Shawwal, January 23, 1737, reached Girishk on the 7th of February after passing through Farrah, Dalhak and Dilaram. On the fourth day the camp was pitched close to the west bank of the Arghandab, where they were surprised at night by

2. *Saulat-i-Afghani,* 340.
3. *Saulat-i-Afghani,* 340-1.

Ghalzei generals, Yunus Khan and Saidal Khan, each commanding 8000 picked horsemen. Abdul Ghani Khan, chief of the Abdalis in the train of Nadir Shah, had, however, heard of the impending attack. He suddenly assailed Yunus Khan before Saidal Khan could come to his assistance. This resulted in a rout of the Ghalzei who could not retrieve the situation even after the arrival of Saidal Khan's reinforcements. This initial success brought by Abdul Ghani Khan to the arms of Nadir in Qandahar added fresh laurels to the meritorious services of the Abdalis in his cause The siege of Qandahar began in the first week of April, 1737, and continued up to the 2nd of Zilhijja, 1150 A.H., March 12, 1738. During the night of the last date the Persians captured one of the towers and pressed forward. Realizing that all was lost, Mir Husain, according to the *Nannwat* custom of the Afghans, sent on the following day his elder sister, Zainab, accompanied by a number of Ghalzei chiefs, to seek protection. Nadir respected the custom and granted Husain, his family and his followers, their lives and sent them as prisoners to Mazandran.[4]

ABDALIS RETURN TO QANDAHAR AND HERAT

Zulfiqar Khan Saddozei and his brother Ahmed Khan, as we know, were then prisoners in Qandahar. Nadir set them at liberty and, because of Haji Ismail Khan Alizei, Ahmed Khan's brother-in-law, he treated Ahmed Khan with special kindness. He granted him from the imperial treasury a large sum of money for the maintenance of the brothers and settled on them the government of Mazandran. The promise made to the Abdalis in 1147 A.H., during the Daghistan campaign, was also fulfilled. Abdul Ghani Khan Alikozei, the maternal uncle of Ahmed Khan, was appointed governor of the province of Qandahar, and the other Abdali chiefs of Girishk, Bust and Zamindawar. The Abdali tribesmen, exiled to the districts of Nishapur, Mashhad and Damghan in Khurasan, were permitted to move *en masse* to Qandahar and occupy the lands of the Ghalzeis who, in turn, were exiled to Khurasan. Three divisions were made of the other territories of the Ghalzeis. Arghandab was given to the Ali-

4. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri*, 324-9; *Saulat-i-Afghani*, 340-44.

kozei tribe of Abdul Ghani Khan, Zamindawar to the Alizeis of Nur Muhammad Khan, and the remaining to the Barakzeis. Herat was also given to the Abdalis—particularly to the Saddozeis, the clan of Ahmad Khan—and they settled down on the western lands which are up to this day occupied by the Durranis.[5]

AHMAD KHAN ON THE PERSONAL STAFF OF NADIR SHAH

When Zulfiqar Khan left for Mazandran and how he conducted himself there is not within the scope of our narrative. The commanding personality of his younger brother, Ahmad Khan, then in his sixteenth year, however, appealed more to Nadir Shah and he placed him on his personal staff as a *Yasawal,* or orderly officer. It was in this capacity—later on rising to the command of a detachment of his tribe—that he accompanied the Persian conqueror on his Indian, Turkish and other campaigns and took part in many a brilliant exploit. All this seems to have fired him in later life with exceptional enthusiasm in leading and conducting his own campaigns. He soon distinguished himself by his meritorious services and was raised to the office of the *Bank-bashi,* or treasury officer.[6] Nadir Shah was so much enamoured of him that he occasionally remarked in open court, in the presence of his nobles and courtiers, that he had not met in Iran, Turan and Hindustan any man of such laudable talents as Ahmad Abdali possessed. With three to four thousand brave and seasoned Abdali horsemen under his command, he always kept him near the second gate of the royal tents.[7]

PROPHECIES OF NIZAM-UL-MULK AND NADIR SHAH

After Nadir's victory over Emperor Muhammad Shah and his occupation of the Imperial fort of Delhi (9th of Zil-

5. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri,* 328-9; *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi,* 9-10; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* 7-8; *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 121; *Saulat-i-Afghani,* 341; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah,* 120.

6. *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 97; *Ma'asir-ul-Umra,* ii. 719. According to *the Gulistan-i-Rahmat,* he also became a member of Nadir's *Majlis,* p. 145.

7 *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi,* 11; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* 9; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat,* 145.

hijja, 1151 A.H., March 9, 1739 A.D.), Ahmad Khan was once seen by Nizam-ul-Mulk Chin Qalich Khan Asafjah, a former prime minister of the empire (then the viceroy of the Deccan), sit outside the Jali gate near the Diwan-i-Am.[8] The Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was an expert in physiognomy, saw in him the signs of greatness and predicted that he was destined to become a king. Nadir, it is said, had full faith in Nizam-ul-Mulk's knowledge of face-reading. On this news being accidentally reported to him, he called Ahmad Khan to his presence and, taking out a knife from his belt, clipped his ears saying, "When you become a king, this will remind you of me."[9] This may be reconciled with an incident, or legend, recorded by many writers. It is related that one day Nadir Shah seated on a golden chair was enjoying a cool breeze and Ahmad Khan was standing respectfully in front of him. Nadir all at once called out, "Come forward, Ahmad Abdali." When he drew near, Nadir Shah said, "Come up nearer still." As he approached nearer respectfully and humbly, he said to him, "Remember Ahmad Khan Abdali, that after me the kingship shall pass on to you. But you should treat the descendants of Nadir with kindness." Ahmad Khan submitted, "May I be a sacrifice to you. Should your Majesty wish to slay me, I am at your Majesty's disposal. There is no need (or cause) for saying such words." Thereupon Nadir repeated, "I know it for certain that you will become a king. Be kind to Nadir's descendants." And it may be said on the authority of Mir Imam-ud-Din Husaini, who completed his *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi* in November 1798, that Ahmad Shah, as he was called on coming to the throne, faithfully respected these words of Nadir in helping his successor and grandson, Mirza Shah Rukh. Ahmad's son Taimur assisted the sons of Shah Rukh in their release from prison and sent them to Mashhad. Out of gratitude, the Mirza offer-

8. According to some writers, followed by Malleson in his *History of Afghanistan*, p. 272, Ahmad had also been sent to Mazandaran along with his brother, Zulfiqar Khan, and "had remained [there] until the return of Nadir from Hindustan". But this is not substantiated by facts as we find him in Delhi in the train of Nadir See *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 2b; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 97; *Ma'asir-ul-Umra*, ii, 791.

9. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 2b (margin). Cf. Ferrier, 93, and *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 121, according to which only one of his ears was clipped.

ed to Taimur the hand of a daughter of his own. "The same kindly treatment," Imam-ud-Din tells us, "is continued by the house of Ahmad Shah towards the descendants of Nadir up to the current year of 1213 A.H."[10]

MURDER OF NADIR SHAH

We next hear of Ahmad Khan at the time of Nadir Shah's death in 1747. For some time before the tragedy, Nadir betrayed a deranged mind. He suspected his own people and perpetrated cruelties upon them. This brought about rebellions all around and he flew into a fit of fury, bordering on insanity.

On the 10th of Muharram, 1160 A.H., January 11, 1747, Nadir Shah left Isfahan for Yazd and Kirman. "Wherever he halted, he had many people tortured and put to death and had towers of their heads erected." After the *Nau-roz* festival in Kirman, he left for Mashhad, where in April, 1747, he behaved "in an even more brutal and inhuman manner than he had done at Isfahan and Kirman." At this time came the news of the revolt of his nephew, Ali Quli Khan, in Sistan. This "gave a great impetus to the growing opposition to Nadir's intolerable tyranny." The Kurds of Khabushan rose in support of Ali Quli and raided the royal stud-farm at Radkan. Nadir at once set out to punish the offenders and arrived at Fatehabad, two *farsakhs* from Khabushan, on the night of Sunday, the 11th of Jamadi-us-Sani, June 7-8.[11] The Rev. Pere Louis Bazin, S.J., a Jesuit, who was then in attendance upon the Shah, relates that he "seemed to have some presentiment of the evil which was awaiting him at this spot. For some days he had kept in his *haram* a horse saddled and bridled. He attempted to escape to Kalat. His guards surprised him, pointed out the evils which his flight would entail, proclaimed that they were his faithful servants, that they would fight for him against all his enemies, and that not one of them would abandon him. He then allowed himself

10. *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi*, 11-12; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9-10. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 121; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, i. 201.

11. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri*, 460; Lockhart, 259-61. The *Bayan-i Waqei* gives the date as 13th of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1160 A.H., which is not correct.

to be persuaded and returned. He clearly perceived that for some time a number of plots against his life had been woven. Of all the nobles at his court, Muhammad Quli Khan, his relation, and Salih Khan were the most discontented and the most active. The first was in command of the guards, and the second the superintendent of his household. The latter caused him less fear because his post gave him no authority over the troops, but he dreaded the former, (who was) a man of swift action (*expedition*), esteemed for his bravery, and (who was) on good terms with his officers. It was on him that suspicion fell. He (Nadir) resolved to forestall him."

"He had in his camp a corps of 4000 Afghans; these foreign troops were entirely devoted to him and hostile to the Persians. On the night of the 19-20th June [N.S.] he summoned all their chiefs. 'I am not satisfied with my guards,' he said to them. 'Your loyalty and your courage are known to me. I order you to arrest all their officers tomorrow morning and to place them in irons. Do not spare any one of them if they dare to resist you. It is a question of my personal security and I trust the preservation of my life to you alone.'"[12]

The commander of these Afghans was Ahmad Khan Abdali. He instantly promised to carry out the wishes of his master and retired to prepare his men for the morning's dreadful task. Evidently, Nadir meant to massacre his suspected Persian officers. But the fates willed it otherwise. The talk had been overheard by a spy who divulged it to Muhammad Quli Khan, and he, in turn, passed it on to Salih Khan. There was no time to lose. Immediately they held a secret conference and decided upon the only alternative of dealing a death blow to the tyrant himself. At midnight, seventy of the leading chiefs led by Muhammad Quli Khan, Salih Khan, Muhammad Khan Qajar, Musa Beg Afshar and Qoja Beg Gunduzlu set out for Nadir's tent. Fifty-seven of them dropped on the way out of terror. Only Salih Khan and Muhammad Khan had the courage to enter his tent and grapple with him. Salih Khan struck him with his sword and cut off one

12. Bazin, *Memoirs*, quoted by Lockhart in his *Nadir Shah*, p. 261. Among the Afghan chiefs then present there were Nur Muhammad Khan Ghaljai and Ahmad Khan Abdali—Ghubar, *Ahmad Shah Baba*, 83.

of his hands, and before Nadir could return the attack, Muhammad Khan dealt him a deadly blow and cut his head off.[13]

The conspirators wished to keep the news of Nadir's death a secret from the army till the next morning so that they might take the Afghans and Uzbaks unawares. But Ahmad Khan had, in the meantime, received a message from Bibi Sahiba (one of Nadir's widows who, according to Sher Muhammad Khan's *Ansab-i-Rausa-i-Dera Ismail Khan,* belonged to an Afghan tribe) through a maid-servant of the *haram.* He got his contingent numbering three to four thousand Abdalis ready, fully armed, for any emergency, and detailed a strong guard for the protection of his master's seraglio. He would not at first believe that Nadir Shah was really dead. With the dawn of the day, the Abdalis in a body rushed to his tent to see his dead body, and, if possible, to avenge the murder of their fallen master. The Persians were then busy plundering the camp. They attacked the Afghans but the latter hewed their way back through them. Before leaving the royal tent, Ahmad Khan managed to remove the seal of Nadir Shah from his finger, took possession of the *Koh-i-noor* diamond and other property, and saluted his dead body for the last time. There was all chaos and confusion at this time in the imperial camp. While the Persian Qizzalbashes were engaged in plundering the royal property, the other tribes robbed one another and marched away to their homes. Thus, in four hours after dawn, not a trace of the imperial tents and property was to be found there. Everything disappeared with the flight of Nadir's ghost.[14] His head had been immediately sent by Qulı

13. *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri,* 461; *Mujmil-ut-Tawarıkh,* 14-19; *Shah-nama-i-Ahmadiya,* 14; *Bayan-i-Waqei,* 125-26; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah,* 261-62. The *Mujmıl-ut-Tawarikh* gives the name of Nadir's assassin as Muhammad Beg Qachar

14. *Husaın Shahi,* 13; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* 10-11; *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh,* 19-21; *Ansab-i-Rausā-i-Dera Ismail Khan,* 8; *Tarıkh-i-Baluchistan (Kıtab,* Akhund Muhammad Siddiq), 190, 753.

Nadir Shah generally kept the *Koh-i-Noor* in his personal custody. 'In the matter of attire, his tastes were simple,' says Lockhart, p 274, 'but he developed a love for jewels which he was able fully to satisfy after he had despoiled India.' He usually wore the *Koh-i-Noor* on his arm.

[Continued on p. 23

Khan to his (Nadir's) nephew, Ali Quli Khan, in compliance with whose wishes the headless body was, on the nineth day after the assassination, transferred to Mashhad and there interred, on the fifteenth day, in the mausoleum previously erected for that purpose in the Khiaban-i-Bala.[15]

[Continued from p. 22

On the authority of the Rev. Pere Bazin and a few others, Lockhart says that the Afghans under Ahmad Khan on their way to Qandahar 'intercepted and captured a treasure convoy from Nadir's camp' and thinks that 'it must have been on this occasion that Ahmad Khan obtained possession of the *Koh-i-Noor* diamond.' (*Nadir Shah*, p. 263.) This seizure of a treasure convoy by Ahmad Khan on his way to Qandahar seems to be the same as mentioned in Chapter III. (Also see footnote No. 10 of Chapter III.) The convoy was intended *for* Nadir Shah's camp and was not coming *from Nadir's camp* as stated by Lockhart. As such, the question of the *Koh-i-Noor* being in the treasure convoy does not arise.

Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar tells us in his *Ahmad Shah Baba* that in recognition and appreciation of Ahmad Khan's exemplary service in protecting the royal seraglio, Nadir Shah's queen sent to him on the following morning a number of presents which included the *Koh-i-Noor* (p. 84). This also is not substantiated by any reliable authority and cannot be accepted as historically true.

15. *Bayan-i-Waqei*, p. 126-27. The last remains of Nadir were not allowed to rest in peace for long in this mausoleum at Mashhad. They were exhumed under the orders of Agha Muhammad Shah Qajar and taken to Tehran, where they were laid under the threshold of his palace, so that "whenever he went abroad, he might trample upon the dust of the great persecutor of himself and his family."—Lockhart's *Nadir Shah*, p. 264.

Chapter III

ELECTION AND CORONATION

The death of Nadir Shah opened a new chapter in the history of Afghanistan. The chief actor who now appeared on the stage was Ahmad Khan Abdali who could rightly be called the father of modern Afghanistan, as it was he who, for the first time, stood for—in fact created—a separate Afghan political entity and raised his people from the dust of subjection to the throne of independence.

At the time of Nadir's death the Afghans found themselves surrounded on all sides by hostile Persians, who attacked them to foil their attempts to reach the royal tents. Once there, and convinced of the tragic truth, they again fought their way back through the enemy's ranks, and, under Ahmad Khan's leadership, extricated themselves from their clutches. Their royal master and patron killed, there was now no clash of loyalties. There was only one way open to them, and that was to return to their motherland and strive for her freedom from the foreign yoke.

The Afghans at this time were under the chief command of Nur Muhammad Khan Alizei who, as Nadir's nominee, had held their reins since the conquest of Qandahar in 1738. "But with the death of Nadir Shah, and the subsequent retreat of all the Afghans upon Qandahar the position, not only of the contingent but of the nation which it represented, was entirely changed." In the words of Malleson, "a vision of independence opened before them. No longer the hirelings of a foreign prince, they constituted at the moment a national army capable of resisting the heterogeneous mass welded into consistency by the genius of Nadir but which, his grasp over them loosened, would almost certainly dissolve. As the contingent of a foreign prince, the Abdalies and Ghalzeis had not been unwilling to serve under the orders of the nominee of the master who had conquered them. But that

master's death had removed the reason for such obedience. Free men, they were not willing to do homage to an Alizye,"[1] whose origin, they said, was not sufficiently noble.[2]

THE HISTORIC MEETING

The necessity of electing a new chief was keenly felt. It is true that the need for self-defence had welded the Abdalis and the Ghalzeis into a single community and they were now marching together in a compact body. But they were in a foreign land of hostile enemies. At the third stage, therefore, they halted to hold a *jargah,* a council of the tribal chiefs, to decide the question of leadership. According to Ibn Muhammad Amin Abdul-Hasan Gulistani, they argued: "In this long journey we must have some one under whose orders we should conduct ourselves. Without a supreme chief it is very difficult, nay impossible, to reach Qandahar with the entire body of our troops, followers and dependants in the face of danger from the Qizzilbashes. Let us, therefore, make an effort to appoint a chief to face whatever may happen before we get to our destination." The proposition did not admit of any easy solution. Each tribe was anxious to advance the claims of its own candidate. Day after day, eight prolonged meetings were held to discuss the various claims. At the ninth sitting Haji Jamal Khan, the chief of the Muhammadzeis, united a majority of suffrages, but the minority was strong and the decision seemed as remote as ever. Ahmad Khan Saddozei Abdali, whose origin and family were the noblest of them all, had been present at all these tumultuous assemblies and had patiently and attentively listened to all that had been said, without offering a word on the important questions which had been discussed. At an opportune moment, when the disputant chiefs seemed wearied with heated and interminable discussions, a *darvesh,* Muhammad Sabir Shah by name, put forward the claim of Ahmad Khan saying, "Why all this verbose talk? God has created Ahmad Khan a much greater man than any of you; his is the

1. *History of Afghanistan,* 273-74.
2. Ferrier, *History of the Afghans,* 68.

most noble of all the Afghan families. Maintain, therefore, God's work, for His wrath will weigh heavily upon you if you destroy it." Haji Jamal Khan Muhammadzei, the most powerful and the most influential of the Sardars present at this meeting and who appeared to have the greatest number of votes, at once realized the superiority of the Saddozei's claim. Ahmad Khan was descended in a direct line from Saddo, who had been an ambassador to Shah Abbas the Great, whereas Haji Jamal Khan's ancestor, Muhammad, was only a companion of his in that embassy. Then his second next ancestor, Khwaja Khizar, son of Saddo, was the national saint of the Afghan tribes. Last, though not least, was the eminence to which his forefathers had risen as chiefs of the Abdalis. The superior claims of Ahmad Khan thus established, Haji Jamal Khan immediately withdrew his own pretensions in his favour and supported his election with all the weight of his persuasive eloquence—a conduct that obtained for him the general respect of the Afghans.[3]

Darvesh Sabir Shah, it may be mentioned, had, like Nizam-ul-Mulk, predicted the rise of Ahmad Khan to kingship three days before the assassination of Nadir Shah. On the day when Nadir Shah arrived at the last stage from Khabushan, and pitched his camp there, a *darvesh* wearing a woollen cap met Ahmad Khan, and, unmindful of the power and awe of Nadir Shah, said to him, "I see the signs of kingship in your face. Give me a piece of cotton cloth, so that having stitched a few tents and a royal pavilion, I may pray for you and you may soon adorn the throne of the kingdom." Credulous as Ahmad Khan was, he complied with the wishes of the saint, who, like children, was thereafter seen pitching small tents by the side of Ahmad's tent and repeating the Quranic verses. On the third day came about the death of Nadir. Ahmad Khan looked upon the *darvesh* as a holy saint who could foresee the secrets of the future and took care not to leave him behind in his flight. The *darvesh* pressed Ahmad Khan to declare himself king. But he

3. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 74; Ferrier, 68-9; Malleson, 273-74.

hesitated till the momentous meeting of the tribal chiefs decreed in his favour.[4]

AHMAD KHAN BECOMES SHAH

He seems to have hesitated again and pleaded his incompetence, perhaps, for want of requisite materials for royal grandeur. But Sabir Shah was not the man to be so easily put off. When he saw that the choice in favour of Ahmad had appealed to the Afghan chiefs and tribesmen, he availed himself of the psychological moment and, raising on the spot a small platform of earth, took him by the hand and seated him thereon saying, "This is the throne of your kingdom." He then strewed some barley-shoots from an adjoining field and tucked them into his turban, adding, "And may this serve as the aigrette of your crown." In the end, as if to complete the ceremony, the *darvesh* proclaimed, "Now you are *Badshah Durr-i-Dauran* (King, the Pearl of the Age)." But Ahmad amended the title and was content to style himself as *Durr-i-Durran*, the Pearl of pearls, and his tribe of the Abdalis as the Durrani (Of the Pearls).[5]

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4. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 74-75.

According to the *Husain Shahi*, followed by the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, Sabir Shah's prediction had taken place three years before the death of Nadir. But the *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh* of Ibn Muhammad Amin seems to be more reliable in this respect. Ferrier, in his *History of the Afghans*, p. 68, tells us that the meeting of the Afghan chiefs took place in the tomb of Sheikh Surkh situated in the village of Nadirabad, now Kichk Nookhood, thirty-five miles from Qandahar.

5. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 74-5; *Husain Shahi*, 13-4; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 11-12; *Bayan-i-Waqei*, 131-32; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 860-61; *Saulat-i-Afghani*, 341-42; Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, 68-9; Malleson, 273-75; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii 203-04.

With slight variations, the story of Sabir Shah has been recorded by almost all writers on Ahmad Shah Durrani. According to the *Bayan-i-Waqei*, and also the *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 123, the *Darvesh* Sabir Shah, whom he calls *Baba* Sabir, was originally a resident of Lahore in the Panjab and was a *na'l-band*, horse-shoe-maker, by profession. His real name, according to Nizam-ud-Din Ishrat's *Shah-Namah-i-Ahmadiya*, 73, was Raza Shah, and Sabir Shah was his title as a *Darvesh*. See also *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa*, 158b. A brother of Sabir Shah, Baqir Shah by name, was living in Peshawar in 1212 A.H., and received five thousand rupees annually from the Afghan Government. He was personally known to Imam-ud-Din Husaini, the author of the *Tarikh-*

As was natural, Ahmad Khan had the greatest veneration for Sabir Shah. Imam-ud-Dın Husaini, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi,* records it on the authority of Nawab Nasır Khan of Kabul of whom we shall read a good deal in the coming pages: "One day I went to the *Darbar* of Ahmad Shah. I saw that Ahmad Shah was sitting on his throne and a *darvesh,* naked from head to foot, with his body covered with dust, was lyıng in his lap. Very often he raised his hand to his ear and nose and, pulling them towards himself, said, 'You see, O Afghan, I have made you a king.' And Ahmad Shah with his head bent down was talking to him in a most respectful manner. When I enquired of the people in the house the name of the *darvesh* they told me that he was called Sabır Shah."[6]

INDEPENDENCE DECLARED

Another matter of importance, decided in the meeting of the Afghan chiefs and to which all had agreed without a dissentient vote, was to sever their connection with Persia and to declare the independence of the Afghans under a king of their own. A full-fledged king, though not yet formally crowned, Ahmad Khan proceeded to make the necessary appointments. Shah Wali Khan Bamezei was given the title

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i-Husain Shahi, and is said to have been a man of talents.—*Husain Shahı,* 15-16. Sher Mohammad Khan in his *Ansab-i-Rausa-i-Dera Ismail Khan,* 31b, says that the *Pir* who gave the title of *Durr-i-Durran* to Ahmad Khan was Hazrat Umar of Chamkanni near Peshawar.

According to Ferrier, 69, the *Darvesh* was a caretaker of the tomb of Sheik Surkh in the vıllage of Nadirabad, 35 miles from Qandahar. It was there, as Ferrier tells us, that the historıc meeting for the election of the chief of the Afghans was held after their arrival at Qandahar. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 122 Nizam-ud-Din Ishrat makes no mention of Sabir Shah at this stage in his *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya.* The narrative given above, constructed out of conflicting material, appears to be more probable.

I am inclined to believe that while the *Jargah* of the Afghan Sardars, wherein Ahmad Khan was elected as chief of the Afghans, was held on their way to Qandahar, the actual formal coronation took place at the mausoleum of Shir Surkh at Nadirabad two miles to the south-east of Qandahar.

6. *Husain Shahi,* 15.

of *Ashraf-ul-Wuzra* and was appointed prime minister, with Sardar Jan Khan, later on popularly called Jahan Khan, as war minister and *Sipah-Salar,* or the commander-in-chief. Shah Pasand Khan was created *Amir-i-Lashkar,* or chief of the army. Similarly, many other Sardars, such as Barkhurdar Khan, Abdullah Khan and Nur-ud-Din were honoured and raised to high offices in the newly constituted state.[7]

At the head of some three to four thousand Afghans, who were then with him, Ahmad Khan marched homeward. Herat was then governed by a Persian nominee of Nadir Shah. Ahmad Khan did not find himself strong enough to reduce this place. Moreover, he was not yet perfectly sure of the loyalty of his companions. As his main object at this time was to get to Qandahar as early as possible, he dropped the idea of taking Herat and marched on straight to his destination. In the neighbourhood of Farrah, an army of a few thousand Persians came to block his way, but they were easily pushed aside by the Afghans, who arrived at Qandahar in due course without any further obstruction.[8]

AHMAD SHAH AT QANDAHAR

As good luck would have it, a day before Ahmad Khan's arrival at Qandahar, there had arrived in the city Muhammad Taqi Khan Shirazi,[9] *Beglarbegi* to Nadir Shah in Sindh and the Panjab, Muhammad Saeed, a representative of Nawab Zakriya Khan of Lahore, and Nawab Nasir Khan of Kabul, with a treasure of two karors of rupees in money, diamonds and shawls, carried by three hundred camels under escort of an Afghan guard. It was intended for Nadir, and the custodians had encamped in the city to rest for a few days and to collect five hundred animals for their onward journey. No intelligence could have been more welcome to Ahmad Khan at this time. He immediately sent out *jarchis,* or public criers, to announce the news of Nadir's death and to proclaim his own election to independent kingship of the Afghans.[10]

7. *Husain Shahi,* 14; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* 11-2; *Shah Namah,* 38-9

8. *Husain-Shahi,* 14-15; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* 12-3; *Shah Namah,* 34-5.

9. The Shirazi had only one eye and was nicknamed *kur,* or the blind. *Tazkirah-i-Anandram,* 235.

10. According to the *Bayan-i-Waqei,* 130, the treasure amounted to thirty lakhs, and was looted and divided among themselves by Nur

He then seized the convoy and also the elephants and other property and distributed the contents amongst the officers and men of his army and other employees of his Government. "This great liberality on his part," says Ferrier, "did more for his future career than all his private virtues and noble origin. Several tribes, who had not as yet positively recognised his election, but the chiefs of which were on this occasion the recipients of his generosity, now attached themselves to his person and he profited by this feeling of unanimity to consolidate his power, and during the first year of his reign to raise a large army with which he subsequently marched on Kabul to capture it."[11] Ahmad Khan treated Muhammad Taqi Khan with kindness and he entered his service with a number of his Qizzilbash followers. As desired by his new master, Taqi recalled a large number of Nadir's other Qizzilbash servants, stationed in Kabul and the Panjab, and induced them to enter the Afghan service. But Nasir Khan was not the man to surrender so easily and was, therefore, kept in confinement.[12]

The Afghans thus won over and united and some fresh Persian levies brought into his service, Ahmad Khan advanced upon the city of Qandahar. The elders came out to receive him. Some of them who saw all power slip out of their hands had secretly plotted against him. But it was anticipated. At the time of the interview, Ahmad Khan took one of the leading Sardars, entrusted with the task of negotiations, to the place of enquiry and, there, threw him to be crushed under the feet of an elephant. Two of the chiefs of that

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Muhammad Khan, Kadhu Khan and other chieftains in the neighbourhood of Qandahar; Ahmad Shah had to throw them into prison to force them to disgorge it. I have accepted the total figure of Ferrier, which also included diamonds, shawls, etc. The *Imad-us-Saadat* gives the amount of the treasure as ten lakhs of *ashrafis* which, with diamonds and shawls added to it, would easily raise the total to two karors. Sykes, in his *History of Persia*, 370, says that among the jewels seized on this occasion was the famous diamond known as the *Koh-i-Noor*. But this seems not to be the fact. For other details, the *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh* appears to be more reliable. Also see footnote No. 14 of Chapter II.

11 *History of the Afghans*, 70.

12. *Bayan-i-Waqei*, 130-31; *Husain Shahi*, 15; *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 75; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 12-13, Ferrier, 69-70, Malleson, 275-76.

tribe were put to the sword.[13] The way was now clear and he entered the city with a strong force.

CORONATION

Once the master of Qandahar, Ahmad Khan found himself securely established as the king of the Afghans. He was formally crowned in the mosque at Qandahar early in the month of July, 1747.[14] 'The ceremony of his coronation was of the most simple kind, the Mullah of the highest rank poured a measure of wheat on the head of the new monarch, announcing to the assembled Afghans that he was the chosen of God and the nation.' "This emblematical investiture of the regal power," writes Ferrier in the middle of the nineteenth century, "is followed to the present day amongst the Afghan tribes each time they elect a chief; the signification which is attached to this ceremonial is that abundance and prosperity will result from the acts of him whom they make the depository of power."[15] Ahmad Khan then assumed the title of *Shah* in addition to that of *Durr-i-Durran,* as mentioned above, and he was thenceforward to be known as Ahmad Shah *Durrani.* He also ordered it to be proclaimed by the beat of drum that the name of his tribe was also changed from Abdali to Durrani and that no one should call it by the old name.[16]

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13. Among those killed by the order of Ahmad Shah at Qandahar during these days is also included the name of Abdul Ghani Khan, his own maternal uncle, to whom Nadir Shah had entrusted the government of Qandahar in 1738 See *Tazkirah-i-Anandram,* 233.

14. Ferrier places the coronation of Ahmad Shah towards the close of the year 1747, and Nash in October 1747 (*History of the War in Afghanistan,* 25). There is a letter of Ahmad Shah to Muhammad Husain Afridi, dated the 18th of Rajjab, 1160 A H., July 15, 1747, in the *Tazkirah-i-Anandram,* which refers to his having been crowned. This would place the event in July, 1747, at the latest

Putting all accounts together, I am inclined to believe that the formal coronation of Ahmad Shah took place at the Mausoleum of Shir Surkh at Nadirabad two miles to the south-east of Qandahar—Cf. Ghubar, *Ahmad Shah Baba,* 85-90.

15. *History of the Afghans,* 70.

16. *Tahmas Namah,* 61; *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* 3; Ferrier, 93.

As usual on such occasions, coins were struck in the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani with the inscription:

حکم شد از قادر بیچون به احمد بادشاه
سکه زن بر سیم و زر از اوج ماهی تا بماه

Command came from God, the Inscrutable, to Ahmad the King,
Strike coin on silver and gold from the bottom of the sea to the moon

The official seal for his *farmans* was inscribed with the words:

اَلْحُکْمُ لِلّٰهِ یا فَتّاح احمد شاه دُرِّ دُرّان

By the command of God, the Bestower of Victory: Ahmad Shah, the Pearl of Pearls.

At the end, the picture of a peacock was carved on it. The shape of his seal-ring was that of a goblet.[17]

Immediately after his accession, Ahmad Shah thought it best to set Nawab Nasir Khan at liberty and to confirm him in the government of Kabul. He did not, however, appear to become a willing agent of the Durrani. He was, therefore, required to leave his son in Qandahar as a hostage for good behaviour. It is also said that, willingly or otherwise, the Nawab had agreed to give in marriage the hand of his daughter to Ahmad, in addition to a tribute of five lakhs of rupees.[18]

BEGINNING OF CONSOLIDATION

Ahmad Shah had then two great problems to solve: the organization of the Afghan tribes and the consolidation of his kingdom. It is true that he had the Persian model of

17. *Husain Shahi* 16; Latif, *Punjab*, 215.

18. *Mulakhas-ut-Tawarikh*, 356; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i, 122; *Risalah-i-Nanak Shah*, 121; *Saulat-i-Afghani*, 244.

Nadir Shah before him to follow. But as the situation in Persia at Nadir's accession was not identical with that in Afghanistan when Ahmad Shah came to the throne, it was not easy to mould the Afghans on the Persian pattern. The Persians had for centuries been accustomed to absolute submission to a despotic system of Government. Nadir, therefore, succeeded without any serious opposition to an established monarchy, though foreign, and this proved a most favourable circumstance for him. Ahmad Shah, on the other hand, had to found a monarchy for the first time among a warlike and independent people whose short experience of Nadir's monarchy, under which they had been compelled to pay tribute to a foreigner to tighten his hold over them, was more hateful than lovable. From love of equality, inherent in their blood, they were likely to view the exaltation of one of their own nation with even more jealousy than the tyranny of a foreign master. He had, therefore, to chalk out his own course. Born as an Afghan, bred among the Afghans, possessing a clear head, and having singularly sagacious views, he was well fitted to deal with the first question. He knew that the Afghan chiefs were jealous guardians of their hereditary tribal rights. He, therefore, decided not to touch them and, without centralizing all the springs of power in his own hands, he resolved to rule the tribes through their own chiefs on the feudal system. He preserved the independence of the tribes under their own chiefs, without any interference in their internal administration. The ruling power that he concentrated in his own hands was to be exercised in consultation with the great chiefs. The chiefs were to furnish him with the allotted contingents for service in case of war and the central government was to pay them a certain fixed sum in acknowledgement of their services.

To gain, in the first instance, the active support and close co-operation of his own tribe, on which he could depend most for the establishment of his rule, he confirmed the Durranis in the possession of their old lands, requiring of them nothing more than the attendance of their contingents of troops as fixed by Nadir. He reserved to the Durrani chiefs most of the great offices in his new state and made them almost hereditary in their families. He exalted the Saddozeis—the mem-

bers of his own clan—and added to the lustre of the halo that already surrounded the descendants of Saddo and Khwaja Khizar.

To the other tribes he was equally considerate, and, with a broad mind and sympathetic attitude, he endeavoured to bring them closer and to knit them into a homogeneous whole. To create in them a spirit of attachment to their native king, he impressed upon every act of his the stamp of patriotism. He was a king to extend the Afghan authority, to found an Afghan nationality, to spread Afghan ideas. It was in this spirit that he, not unoften, refused to attack refractory tribes and said that he was not willing to bring any calamity upon his countrymen. The undesirable activities of Muhabbat Khan, the former Qiladar, Nur Muhammad Khan, a municipal officer, and Gadai Khan, the commandant of troops in Qandahar on behalf of Nadir, were overlooked by him under these noble sentiments, and it was not till they exceeded all limits and appeared positively dangerous to the consolidation of the state that he was driven to the necessity of punishing them.[19]

But to carry the tribes with him in all these nationalistic ideas, he had, in the first instance, to win their chiefs. He, therefore, instituted a council of nine Afghan chiefs without whose consultation and advice he would adopt no measure of importance.

"For the consolidation of his power at home," says Elphinstone, "he relied in a great measure, on the effects of his foreign wars. If these were successful, his victories would raise his reputation, and his conquests would supply him with the means of maintaining an army, and of attaching the Afghan chiefs by favour and rewards: the hopes of plunder would induce many tribes to join him, whom he could not easily have compelled to submit: by carrying the great men with his army he would be able to prevent their increasing, or even preserving their influence in their tribes; and the habits of military obedience would prepare them for a cheerful submission to his government at home: the troops also, having the King constantly before their eyes, and witnessing the sub-

19. *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 146.

mission of their hereditary chiefs, would learn to regard him as the head of the nation; and he might hope, as the event proved, that his popular manners, and the courage, activity, vigilance, and other military virtues which he possessed, would impress all ranks with respect, and strongly attach his soldiers to his person."[20]

The situation in the neighbouring countries was equally favourable. The great Indian and Uzbak empires had been humbled by Nadir and laid prostrate. The warlike Baluchis had been subjugated and there was no fear of opposition from them. In fact it appeared that they would prefer entering into alliance with their Afghan neighbours to their union with any one else. The sun of Iran had set with the death of Nadir and, with the dark clouds all around, there was no prospect of its early rise on the political horizon.

Such was the state of affairs when Ahmad Shah Durrani ascended the throne of Afghanistan and embarked on a career of conquest.

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20. *Caubul*, ii, 283-4; Ferrier, 69-70; Malleson, 276-77.

CHAPTER IV

OCCUPATION OF KABUL AND PESHAWAR

The measures adopted by Ahmad Shah at his accession eminently succeeded in winning over the Afghan tribes to his cause. Recruits poured in from all directions, and, before long, his army exceeded forty thousand, drawn from almost all the clans of the Abdalis and Ghalzeis, with a sprinkling of the Qizzilbashes.

OCCUPATION OF KABUL

There was then no such thing as Afghanistan. The first thing for him to do, therefore, was to bring together various Afghan districts into one political unit. Herat he left over for a later occasion and decided to begin with Ghazni and Kabul. And there were reasons for it. Nawab Nasir Khan[1] of Kabul, as we know, had been set at liberty and confirmed as the governor of that province. He was an ambitious and intriguing man and, as is borne out by his subsequent career, he could not appreciate an act of grace towards him. Although he had left with Ahmad Shah his elder son as a hostage for good behaviour, he had no intention to fulfil his promises Soon after his return to Kabul, he left for Peshawar—according to one tradition, under the orders of Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi—and began collecting troops to oppose the plans of His Afghan Majesty. He originally ruled Kabul on behalf of Muhammad Shah, but when that province was transferred to Nadir, he was allowed to continue in its government. Now he refused to recognize Ahmad Shah as the successor of Nadir Shah in Kabul and to fulfil the promises made at the time of his release; and, on the top of it,

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1. His real name was Nasiri Khan. He was the son of Nasir Khan Muhammad Aman, Governor of Kabul during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb of India. After the death of his father in 1129 A.H., 1717 A.D., he became the *Subedar* of Kabul and received his father's title of Nasir Khan in the second year of Muhammad Shah's reign. For further details, see *Ma'asir-ul-Umra,* iii, 433-5; Ahmad Yadgar, *Salatin-i-Afaghina,* 250; also *Tahmas Nama* and *Tarikh-i-Ali,*

he declared himself in favour of the Mughal. It was said that he had offered the hand of his daughter in a state of helplessness as a prisoner in Qandahar. As to the payment of five lakhs of rupees agreed upon, the Afghans of Kabul, who later on deserted his cause, had expressed their inability to raise the money, and had urged upon him to fight the Durrani. Nasir Khan, thereupon, sent back the five Durrani guards who had come along with him for the money, and went away to Peshawar for military preparations.[2]

Ahmad Shah could not afford to brook such an affront in the very beginning of his rule. He, therefore, marched against him with a large force. The governor of Ghazni, appointed by Nadir, came out to block his passage but he was defeated and brushed aside, and the place was occupied without much opposition. Nasir Khan had, however, been making preparations at Peshawar to oppose the Durrani. While submitting to the Mughal Emperor, he had appealed to him for troops and money. He had also raised recruits from among the Hararah and Uzbak tribes. On the other hand, Ahmad Shah had been writing to the Afghan chiefs throughout the country ever since his accession and they had been fired with a national spirit. He had also entered into communication with the Afghans in Kabul who had, evidently, assured him of co-operation. They would not fight for the Mughal against the Afghan. Even the leading Persian families in the Bala Hisar citadel of the capital had entered into a secret understanding with Ahmad Shah. And 'they made a common cause with the Afghans', on his arrival at Kabul, 'under a promise that their chiefs should participate in the official appointments and advantages in the gifts of the sovereign, and be treated in all things on a footing of equality.' The capital was defended for some time by a deputy of Nasir Khan, but, with the defection of the Afghans to the side of Ahmad Shah, he lost all hope and fled away to Peshawar to join his master. The fall of Kabul added another province to Ahmad Shah's kingdom. The capital was occupied and an Afghan chief, devoted to his person and interests,

2. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, iii, 253; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i, 122; *Risalah-i-Nanak Shah*, 120-1; *Mulakhas-ut-Tawarikh*, 356.

was appointed its governor. Nasir Khan's wife, who was the daughter of Zabardast Khan Ali Mardan Khan, fell into the hands of the Durranis, but she was treated with all the respect due to her position. While the Shah himself was busy with the establishment of administrative machinery in this new province, he deputed Sardar Jahan Khan, his *Sipah Salar,* popularly called *Bakhshi,* to march in advance against Nasir Khan.[3]

OCCUPATION OF PESHAWAR

The Afghan king established at Kabul, Nasir Khan feared an attack from the Afghan tribes, who were sure, he thought, to join the Durrani on his way to Peshawar. To keep them in check and fear, he decided to surprise them by a night-attack upon one of their leading chiefs, Abdus Samad Khan Muhammadzei (also called Mamanzei) of the *Doaba* of Hasht Nagar. This danger removed, he thought he could successfully block the Khaibar Pass against the Afghans. Abdus Samad Khan escaped from his fortress towards Jalalabad and joined the advance army of the Shah at Lalpur. Nasir Khan, in his fury, sacked the fortress of Hasht Nagar, put most of Abdus Samad Khan's relations and dependents to the sword and returned to Peshawar.[4]

Sardar Jahan Khan, guided by Abdus Samad Khan, rushed into the Khaibar Pass before Nasir Khan could take any effective measures to block it. Ahmad Shah also followed them soon afterwards. Nasir Khan, it seems, could not collect a force sufficiently strong to oppose them with any hope of success. The whole of the Kabul province, including Peshawar, was populated with Afghans who had openly declared for the Afghan king. He, therefore, quietly evacuated Peshawar and crossed over to the east of the river Indus and sought shelter in Chhachh Hazara. Ahmad Shah entered Peshawar as a national hero and was acclaimed as such by the Afghan tribes living in that area. The chiefs of the

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3. *Tazkirah-i-Anandram,* 237; *Husain Shahi,* 17; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* 13-14; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 861; *Saulat-i-Afghani,* 244; *Mulakhas-ut-Tawarikh,* 356; Malleson, 70.

4. *Husain Shahi,* 17; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* 13-14; *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 124-125; *Saulat-i-Afghani,* 52.

Yusafzeis and Khataks, without any exception, came to do homage to him. Abdus Samad Khan Muhammadzei, also called Samand Khan Mamanzei, had already joined Jahan Khan. He was followed, in his submission to the Durrani, by the chief of Mandar, Fateh Khan, son of Nazoh Khan of Hoti, accompanied by the Khans of Toru and Babozei. Ahmad Shah received them with distinction, and, directing the Mandar chiefs to join his camp with a contingent of five hundred horse for service in Hindustan, dismissed them with presents. The territories attached to Peshawar extended up to the right bank of the Indus, and, with the capture of this place and the submission of the tribal chiefs, the boundary of the new kingdom was carried wherever an Afghan tribe was to be found to the west of the river.

On arriving at Peshawar, Ahmad Shah had ordered Jahan Khan not to slacken the pursuit of Nasir Khan till he had driven him out of Hazara. The news soon arrived that the fugitive had fled to the Panjab. According to the *Tazkirah-i-Anandram,* he reached Lahore on the 23rd of Zi-qada, 1160 A.H., November 15, 1747. At this time Nawab Hayatullah Khan Shah Nawaz Khan, the governor of Lahore, was in secret correspondence with Ahmad Shah Durrani. Nasir Khan could not, therefore, be given a warm public reception. In fact, the governor hesitated even to meet him. Nasir Khan stayed for a few days in one of the chambers of the *Idgah*—where Shah Nawaz Khan paid him a private visit—and then marched away to Delhi where, on the 27th of Zilhijja, December 19, 1747, he was received in audience by Emperor Muhammad Shah and was given a dress of honour of six pieces, a sword, an elephant and a lakh of rupees in recognition of his loyalty to the Mughal Empire.[5]

Sardar Jahan Khan returned to Peshawar after the flight of Nasir Khan and began preparing himself for military operations in India for which his master, Ahmad Shah, had made up his mind in response to the invitations of Shah Nawaz Khan of Lahore.

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5. *Husain Shahi,* 18; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* 14; *Tazkirah-i-Anandram,* 237-8; *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 124-5; *Shah Namah,* 50-8; H. W. Bellew, *Yusufzeis,* 77.

Chapter V

FIRST INVASION OF INDIA

THE CONQUEST OF LAHORE

THE POLITICAL CONDITION IN THE PANJAB

Nadir Shah's invasion of India in 1738-39 not only exposed the hollowness of the central Mughal government, but also shook the loyalty of the provincial governments to Delhi. The governorships had, for some time past, come to be permanently settled in particular families, whose members, in almost all their transactions, were guided by their own personal interests and, not unoften, entered into political negotiations with foreign powers—even with the enemies of the empire—without any reference to the imperial headquarters. The political transactions of the viceroys of the Deccan and Bengal with the French and the English were important examples which pointed the way to a usurper in the Panjab, Shah Nawaz Khan, for foreign help to maintain his power against his own elder brother and against the central government in the case of their interference on behalf of the rightful and recognized governor.

Shah Nawaz Khan was the second son of Khan Bahadur Zakariya Khan, the governor of the Panjab from 1726 to 1745 A.D. His real name was Hayatullah Khan and he was sometimes called by the nickname of Philauri Khan. During the invasion of Nadir Shah, he had accompanied him from Lahore to Delhi, from where, just after the invader's departure, he was sent to his father with orders to keep ready a karor of rupees for him. On Nadir's way back, he accompanied him as far as Larkana in Sindh, received from him the title of *Shah Nawaz Khan* and was appointed the governor of Multan.[1]

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1. Multan had been governed by Shah Nawaz Khan's grandfather (Zakariya Khan's father) *Saif-ud-Daulah Nawab* Abdus Samad Khan from 1726 to 1737 (1150 A.H., the year of his death), and was then held by his father Zakariya Khan in addition to the province of Lahore. *Ma'asir-ul-Umra*, ii, 514-17; Beal, *Dictionary of Oriental Biography*, 14; Beale, *Miftah-ut-Tawarikh*, 316; *Tazkirah-i-Anandram*, 105-31.

Zakariya Khan died at Lahore on the 12th of Jamadi-us-Sani, 1158 A.H., July 1, 1745. Shah Nawaz Khan and his elder brother, Yahiya Khan, who was married to a daughter of *Wazir-ul-Mumalik* Qamar-ud-Din Khan, both then happened to be at Delhi. Within a week they left for the Panjab. Emperor Muhammad Shah was not willing to confirm the sons of Zakariya Khan in the government of Lahore and Multan. He, however, later on, agreed to give these provinces to the Wazir, who, on his own behalf, could appoint Yahiya Khan to the governorship of Lahore and Shah Nawaz Khan to that of Multan. The robes of honour for the purpose were granted by the Emperor on the 9th of Shaban, 1158 A.H., August 26, 1745. Thus the two brothers—the third Mir Baqi remains practically unknown to history—became governors respectively of the two provinces in the Panjab.

Soon afterwards Yahiya Khan seems to have gone back to Delhi to negotiate for the release of his father's property which, according to the Mughal practice, had been confiscated to His Majesty. This took several months, and on his return to Lahore on July 1, 1746, Yahiya Khan appropriated the whole of it. He was, evidently, not willing to share it with his younger brothers. Shah Nawaz Khan, on the other hand, was a hot-headed young man. He arrived at Lahore from Multan on the 18th of Zi-qada, 1159 A.H., November 21, 1746, and demanded a formal division of the property. The discussions that followed resulted in the exchange of hot words, with hands flying to the hilts of the swords. The soldiers of the two brothers often fought in the streets of Lahore, while each of them stood behind his entrenchments in his own quarter of the city. The civil war continued for four months till on the 17th of March, 1747, the partisans of Yahiya Khan were worsted and Shah Nawaz Khan entered the city on the fifth day, the 21st of March, 1747. The ex-governor fell into the hands of the usurper and was interned in the *haveli* of his aunt, Dardana Begam, sister of Zakariya Khan.

The confinement of Yahiya Khan, with the prime minister of the empire as his father-in-law, added to the anxieties of Shah Nawaz Khan and made him apprehensive of his own future. As a usurper, he knew, he had been disloyal to the

crown and had forfeited the sympathies of Wazir Qamar-ud-Din, the real official governor of the provinces of Lahore and Multan. Although for five months no action had been taken against him, the fear of their wrath falling upon him sooner or later was constantly there. He, therefore, sent his steward, Muhammad Naeem Khan, to the Emperor at Delhi, to apologize for his past misconduct and to request that he might be confirmed as the deputy governor of Lahore. The envoy arrived at Delhi on the 9th of Ramzan, 1160 A.H., September 3, 1747 A.D., and opened negotiations with *Diwan* Abdul Majid Khan, and, then, through *Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik* Saadat Khan, he had an interview with the prime minister. Delay in such talks was natural, particularly when Qamar-ud-Din was not well disposed towards him.[2]

SHAH NAWAZ KHAN INVITES AHMAD SHAH

Shah Nawaz Khan, therefore, looked for help from some foreign quarter. At that time Ahmad Shah Durrani was in the province of Kabul. Shah Nawaz Khan, by then, must have heard of his exploits. His eyes turned towards him, and, with the advice of Adina Beg Khan, the *faujdar* of his *jagir* in the Jullundur *Doab* and a staunch supporter of his in the usurpation of Lahore, sent to him an envoy, with a letter inviting him to take possession of the country. For himself, he only asked for the office of the prime minister under him.[3] He also embraced the Shia religion and erased the names of the Timurid emperors from his official seal, re-

2. *Tazkirah-i-Anandram,* 105-31, 227-31.

According to the *Bayan-i-Waqei,* 129-30, Wazir Qamar-ud-Din had written to Shah Nawaz Khan to set Yahiya Khan at liberty. But Shah Nawaz Khan had refused to comply with his wishes till he had sent to him the *sanad,* appointing him the governor of the Panjab. On receipt of this reply, the Wazir began vigorous preparations for his march to Lahore for the release of his son-in-law. This upset Shah Nawaz Khan and he became restless.

3. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 861; *Tahmas Namah,* 63-4; Kushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan,* 61; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* i, 114-15; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 233.

According to the *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* it was *Darvesh* Sabir Shah who was sent as an envoy to Ahmad Shah. But this is not supported by other authorities.

placing them by those of the twelve *Imams*. This was, perhaps, 'to find allies among the Shia soldiery of Persia' and to impress upon Ahmad Shah the *bona fides* of his break with the Mughals.[4]

The *vakil* and the letter of Shah Nawaz Khan were most welcome to Ahmad Shah. He bowed to the Almighty for them, for he had never expected that things would shape themselves so favourably for him. He at once had the required deed drawn up (with the terms: the Crown to Ahmad, the wazirship to Shah Nawaz) and, having got it sealed by the chiefs of his army as witnesses, despatched it to Lahore with a confidential representative, Bughra Khan Popalzei.

SITUATION REVERSED

Adina Beg Khan, who was playing a double game, informed the *Wazir* of the secret correspondence between Shah Nawaz Khan and Ahmad Shah saying, 'that his nephew had become very headstrong, had entered into correspondence with Ahmad Abdali, and paid no attention to the words of his best servants;[5] that if the *Wazir* were to soothe his mind and gain his heart, they would also be able to beseech him.' The envoy, Muhammad Naeem Khan, was still at Delhi when this intelligence reached there. The Wazir, who had been inattentive to the petition of Shah Nawaz Khan and the supplication of his envoy, was suddenly awakened to the realities of the situation. There was no alternative. A royal *farman*, granting the request of Shah Nawaz Khan, was immediately drawn up and handed over to his representative. The Wazir also wrote, in his own hand, a personal conciliatory letter to his nephew. Its purport was "that their family had at all times been loyal to the Mughal emperors and had never been guilty of an act of ingratitude or treason; it was a sorrowful thing that he should have had such intentions, and a matter of shame for him to have stooped to obey an Afghan *Yasawal* (personal attendant) of Nadir Shah. He should

4. *Bayan-i-Waqei*, 129; Ashub, ii. 453 (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, i. 196).

5. The *best servants*, referred to, evidently, included Adina Beg Khan himself and Diwan Lakhpat Rai of Lahore. Cf. Kushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, 61.

rather drive out this insignificant fellow from all the frontiers of Hindustan; the five provinces of Kabul, Kashmir, Thatta, Lahore and Multan would then come under his own jurisdiction; and, in this, the whole Empire with all its resources will be at his back." This reversed the whole situation. Shah Nawaz Khan felt elated at the receipt of the royal *farman* and the prime minister's letter which touched his family pride and promised him help in the extension of his dominions. He at once changed his mind, and, unmindful of the negotiations with Ahmad Shah, decided to throw in his lot with his traditional masters in opposition to the Durrani.[7]

AHMAD SHAH MARCHES TO INDIA

Ahmad Shah, on the other side, had by now completed his preparations. A large number of Afghan adventurers from the neighbouring tribes also joined him in the hope of plundering the rich towns of India. About the middle of December, 1747, he left Peshawar with an army of about eighteen thousand Afghans,[8] one-third of whom belonged to his own tribe. He crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats. The Yusafzei contingent joined him at Attock.

It was here that his envoy Bughra Khan met him on his return from Lahore and informed him of the changed situation there. Bughra Khan himself was not a man of refined manners and lacked the gift of persuasive eloquence. Ali-ud-Din tells us that he could not conduct himself properly during his interview with Shah Nawaz Khan and irritated him by improper discussions. He could, however, see the preparations that Shah Nawaz Khan was making to oppose the Durrani and hastened back with the information that he had gathered.

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7. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 861-62; *Tazkirah-i-Anandram*, 235; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 233.

8 Anandram Mukhlis, writing on the authority of the news then received at Delhi, gives the number of the Shah's army as 25,000 *Sawars*, while Abdul Karim, in his *Bayan-i-Waqei*, 131, followed by Abdul Rahman, entitled Shah Nawaz Khan, in his *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa*, 158 a, puts the figure at 'more than 12,000 horse and foot'. About 18,000, as given by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, in the *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, i. 207, is, therefore, more reliable.

PIR SABIR SHAH MURDERED AT LAHORE

But Ahmad Shah was not dejected by this intelligence. His army moved on towards Jhelum and occupied the fort of Rohtas without any opposition. From here he sent, in advance, his *Pir,* Sabir Shah, who proceeded to Lahore, in company with Muhammad Yar Khan *Zarab-bashi,* the mint-master, ostensibly with the object of seeing his mother who lived there and of visiting the tombs of local saints. On his arrival at Lahore, the *Pir* stayed at the house of *Mufti* Abdullah. His fame as a necromancer had preceded him and it was talked about in the city that he had arrived there to render the Mughal artillery ineffective against the Durranis. Having heard of this extraordinary *Darvesh,* Shah Nawaz Khan sent Adina Beg Khan and Diwan Kaura Mall to find out his real purpose. Sabir replied, "I have no business with any one of you. Out of my regard for the city, which is my birth-place, and my obligation to its citizens and rulers with whom I have lived, I cannot help saying that faithlessness is never an object of approbation with either man or God, and that your sword is not equal to that of Ahmad Abdali." At this stage he was interrupted by some one saying, "What do you mean, Sir? Is our sword made of wood and his of iron?" "No," said he, "both the swords are made of iron. But his star (*Iqbal*) is in the ascendant and your *Iqbal* is not equal to his." Adina Beg reported this to Shah Nawaz Khan who was much upset to hear all this. He ordered the *Darvesh* and his companion Muhammad Yar Khan to be imprisoned and kept under strict surveillance and not to be allowed to escape to the Durrani's camp. Ali-ud-Din in his *Ibrat Namah* has recorded an interview between Shah Nawaz Khan and *Pir* Sabir Shah. "How is brother Ahmad Shah?" asked Shah Nawaz. The *Pir* replied, "He is the king of *Vilayat* (Afghanistan) and Khurasan and aims at the conquest of Hindustan, while you are only a *Subedar,* a governor, of one place (province), and a servant and dependent of someone else. How dare you utter these words?" According to the *Tazkirah-i-Anandram,* Sabir Shah told Shah Nawaz that as the Emperor of India was not well disposed towards him and was only looking for an opportunity to wreak his vengeance upon him, it was in his interest to accompany him to Ahmad Shah

so that he might add to his honour and dignity and settle upon him the wazirship of the country. These and other similar words having no effect upon Shah Nawaz, the *Pir* rebuked him for his faithlessness and used some harsh words which the young viceroy could not bear. In a fit of anger, Shah Nawaz Khan ordered the *Darvesh* to be handed over to his *Bakhshi,* Khwaja Asmatullah Khan, who put him to death, as ordered, by pouring moulten lead into his throat. As there was nothing objectionable against Muhammad Yar Khan, he was soon set free and allowed to go.[9]

FROM ROHTAS TO SHAHDARA

While encamped at Rohtas, Ahmad Shah is said to have sacked the temple of Balanath Jogi, now called Tilla Gorakh Nath, situated at a distance of about twenty miles from Jhelum.[10]

On hearing of the fate of his *Pir,* Ahmad Shah rushed towards Lahore. On his way to Gujrat he confirmed Sultan Muqarrab Khan, a Gakkhar of Rawalpindi, in his possessions in the district, where he had established himself about the year 1741.[11] The Chanab was crossed at Sohdara. Then by hurried marches Ahmad Shah arrived at Shahdara on the

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9. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 862, (iii, 256-57); *Tazkirah-i-Anandram,* 256; *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa,* 158 b., 160 a; *Bayan-i-Waqei,* 132; Bellew, *Yusufzeis,* 11; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 233-34; *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiaya,* 73-75; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat,* 147; Latif, *Panjab,* 216-7.

According to some writers, Sabir Shah went to Lahore all alone, of his own accord, and not even with the consent of the Shah, and from Shahdara and not from Rohtas The *Tarikh-i-Sultani* says that Sabir repeated his old game of small tents in the bazars of Lahore and said that he was bringing the rule of Ahmad Shah to the country. As Shah Nawaz could not bear to hear this, he ordered the *Darvesh* to be put to death.

Some writers are of opinion that he was beheaded with a sword. According to the *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* his stomach was ripped open, and, mounted on a camel, he was paraded in the streets of Lahore.

The tomb of Sabir Shah is situated on a raised platform at the back of the Imperial Mosque (Badshahi Masjid) towards the Taksali Gate. *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* i, 122; Goulding, *Old Lahore,* 73; Latif, *Lahore,* 75, 117.

10. *Jhelum District Gazetteer* (1904), 34-5.

11. *Gujrat District Gazetteer* (1883-84) 15, 115.

right bank of the Ravi on the 18th of Muharram, 1161 A.H., January 8, 1748, and took up his residence in the mausoleum of Emperor Jahangir.

SHAH NAWAZ KHAN AT LAHORE:

It may be mentioned here that Shah Nawaz Khan had begun his preparations immediately after the receipt of the Royal *farman* and the letter from his maternal uncle *Wazir* Qamar-ud-Din from Delhi. But they were all for the defence of the city and nothing was done to stop the enemy's progress towards it. In the second week of December he had pitched his tents outside the city to supervise the arrangements. He was, perhaps, under the impression that as Ahmad Shah had no guns with him, it would be easy to defeat him with the Lahore artillery. But no success could be achieved with a divided house. All the old and devoted servants of the government were either in prison or alienated. Those who professed to be his friends were half-hearted. The Afghan chiefs of Kasur were busy intriguing for the release of Yahiya Khan and availed themselves of the engagements of Shah Nawaz for securing his release (23 Zil-hijja, 1160 A.H., December 15, 1747).[12] And Adina Beg Khan could not be relied upon on account of the duplicity of his character. This was the hopeless state of affairs in Lahore when Ahmad Shah arrived at its gates to attack it.

Credulous as Shah Nawaz Khan was, he is said to have, on this occasion, gone to his *Pir*, Ghulam Muhammad, for blessings in his military undertaking. Finding the *Pir* reluctant, he one day sat down at his door and refused to move from there till the *Pir* had shown him a miracle. Ghulam Muhammad asked him to bring three bricks. Wrapped in a handkerchief, the bricks were placed before him and he sat in contemplation (*muraqbah*). After an hour when Ghulam Muhammad returned to his normal condition, the bricks had turned into silver. "Your boat shall sink," exclaimed

12. The escape of Yahiya Khan was secured with the assistance of his aunt, a sister of Zakariya Khan. He arrived at Delhi on the 23rd of Muharram, 1161, 13th January, 1748, when his father-in-law was encamped at Shalamar Garden, making arrangements for the army to be sent against Ahmad Shah. *Tazkirah-i-Anandram*, 239-40.

the *Pir*. "You must withdraw your hand from *Zulm* (high-handedness) and set the *Amirs* (high officials) of your father free." Shah Nawaz Khan paid no attention to the advice of *Pir* Ghulam Muhammad saying, "The *Pir* has, perhaps, heard the clamour of the prisoners!"[13]

THE BATTLE OF LAHORE

All of a sudden, on the 20th of Muharram, 1161 A.H., January 10, 1748, the third day of his arrival, the Afghan army forded the river and moved towards the Shalamar Garden, pitching their tents to its north-east in the fields of the village of Mahmud Buti.

Shah Nawaz Khan, at this time, was entrenched outside the city, and, with a large force and an enormous quantity of war materials, was waiting to receive the invaders. In addition to the troops under his personal command, he had established two base depots, one in the fortress of Hazrat Ishan with ten thousand horse and five thousand musketeers under Khawaja Asmatullah Khan,[14] and the other near the Dargah Shah Balawal and Parvezabad with five thousand horse and as many *barqandaz* (matchlockmen) under Lachin Beg, with proper entrenchments. On hearing of the Durranis crossing over to his side, he detailed Jalhe Khan[15] of Kasur to oppose them. But the Afghan joined the Afghans with all his troops and equipment.

Fixing their advance base at the village of Malikpur,[16] the Durranis moved out on the following morning, the 21st of

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13. Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, 61-2.

14 Some writers like Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari (*Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 423) give him the name of Hashmatullah Khan

15. This name has been wrongly transcribed as Zilla Khan in the translation of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol. viii, 106. In the original Persian manuscript in the British Museum, London, under No. Or. 2005, the word is clearly written on folio 3b, line 7, as جلہ خاں The *Shosha*, or mark of *h*, below *l* is so clear that it leaves no ground for its being read by anyone as Zilla Khan or Jumla Khan. The name, printed as جلی خاں in the *Umda-tu-Tawarikh* (Lahore, 1885), vol. i, 123, is جلہی خاں Jalhe Khan in the original manuscript. Even as printed, it is nearer Jalhe Khan than Jumla Khan or Zilla Khan.

16. ملک پور —*Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya*, 77.

Muharram, towards the city of Lahore. They were in the plain of Shah Balawal and the Dargah of Shah Husain when Khwaja Asmatullah Khan *Bakhshi* with his ten thousand horse and five thousand musketeers, and Lachin Beg, with five thousand horse and as many *barqandaz*, rode out of their respective entrenchments to oppose them and opened fire from their guns and *rahkalas* Ahmad Shah began the battle with a much smaller number. He had no guns to silence those of Shah Nawaz Khan. He could see, therefore, that the larger the number of men he sent forward the greater the loss of life he would suffer He, therefore, detached about one thousand mounted musketeers from the main force. They rushed into the middle of the Mughals, fired their muskets and galloped back beyond the enemy's range. For the whole day, the fighting went on in this manner and neither side made bold to advance from the position taken by it.[17]

On the morning of the battle, Shah Nawaz Khan, according to the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* sent someone to consult *Darvesh* Shah Kalab Ali, an astrologer, as to the result of the battle He sent back a message saying, 'Today is a bad day for you. It is better if there be no fighting today. From tomorrow victory is yours; you may fight in any way and anywhere ' On receipt of this answer, Shah Nawaz Khan sent messages to the officers of his army, through Adina Beg Khan and Diwan Kaura Mall, not to move out against the Durranis, and in case of pressure from them, to repel them fighting from within the entrenchments. He then retired to his tent for rest. At the usual time he sat for his meals with Adina Beg and some other Sardars, when, all of a sudden, they heard the report of a gun, and then another. On enquiry it was found that Abdali's horsemen had appeared and two hundred Qizzilbashes[18] of the Lahore army had fallen upon them. The Durranis then quietly retreated, and later on reappeared to renew the attack with greater force. The Qizzilbashes were pushed back and the Durranis followed

17 *Tazkirah-i-Anandram,* 257, *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* 76-7.

18. The *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya* calls them Uzbaks and gives at some length the account of their fight with the Durranis in which the former were completely routed. *Vide* 79-82.

them into their trenches. This created confusion in the ranks of Bakhshi Asmatullah Khan and he called for immediate reinforcements. Shah Nawaz Khan ordered Adina Beg to proceed immediately, but he went away to another side and stood there like a spectator. The orders were repeated, but Adina Beg made no appreciable movement till towards the evening, and, when there was still daylight, he retreated into the city.[19]

This, it seems, was taken by the Indian troops for "cease fire" for the day and they were retiring to their trenches for the night when, as Anandram tells us, the Afghan forces all at once wheeled back and fell upon them. The Afghan horsemen who were in the van heeled their horses and, charging at full speed, poured such deadly fire upon the Lahoris that they were completely taken by surprise and hopelessly routed. The Bakhshi,[20] who was always so loud in his professions of loyalty and devotion, also chose to fly away from the field along with other inexperienced Sardars. The fortress of Hazrat Ishan had been strengthened with a park of artillery and could afford protection to them. But they all ran to seek shelter within the walls of the city, leaving their enormous collections of guns, ammunition and other war materials to fall into the hands of the Durranis. Adina Beg Khan, who was at this time in the city and had come up to the *haveli* of Zabardast Khan with the *Bakhshi,* made several efforts, according to Anandram, to go out with reinforcements, but it was all in vain. For the first quarter of the night he stood in the suburbs of the city and kept on firing the swivels and rockets (*rahkala-o-ban*), not allowing the Afghans to advance farther than the fortress of Hazrat Ishan which they had occupied.

But all this was to serve no useful purpose. With the flight of the *Bakhshi* and other Sardars to the city, there was all panic in the army. Shah Nawaz Khan had wished to get down from his elephant and stay for the night in the camp to encourage his men and to resume fighting with greater

19. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 862-63.

20. *The Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 423, tells us that Bakhshi Hashmatullah Khan—Asmatullah Khan of the *Tazkirah-i-Anandram,* the *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* etc.,—was killed in the battle.

vigour in the morning when, he thought, he would be able to retrieve the situation. But a relation of his, the husband of his paternal aunt, prevailed upon him, much against his will, to retire to safer quarters in the city. As soon as his elephant was seen moving away from his tent, such of the men as had still remained in the camp also followed his example and fled in all directions, hurrying towards the city gates. At this time a body of the Turanis found a favourable opportunity to fall upon the camp and plunder it. Even the tents of the governor himself were not spared and all his luggage and equipage were looted and carried away. Deserted by his officers and men, Shah Nawaz Khan returned to his apartments in the city. All hope was now lost. Having put to death *Darvesh* Sabir Shah, the revered *Pir* of Ahmad, he expected no mercy at his hands. Submission thus becoming out of the question, he saw his safety only in flight. About midnight, he distributed bags of *ashrafis* among some of his friends and a basket of jewels to some of the eunuchs and then quitted the city and fled towards Delhi.

AHMAD SHAH OCCUPIES LAHORE

The city of Lahore was thus left undefended. Next morning (22nd of Muharram, 1161, January 12, 1748), with the spread of the news of Shah Nawaz Khan's flight, Ahmad Shah moved out of his camp and, without any opposition, occupied the tents and military headquarters of the fugitive governor.

A number of faithful officers of Yahiya Khan, such as Mir Moman Khan, Mir Nimat Khan, Sayyad Jamal-ud-Din Khan and Mir Amin Khan, who had all these months been kept in close confinement by Shah Nawaz Khan, held a conference after their release in the morning and decided to wait in a deputation upon the conqueror to offer to him their submission on behalf of the province and the city of Lahore. Accordingly, Mir Moman Khan, Diwan Lakhpat Rai and Diwan Surat Singh went to him and begged of him to spare the city from sack and plunder. They also promised to pay a ransom of thirty lakhs of rupees. Ahmad Shah was pleased to accept the offer and immediately sent out his *nasaqchis* (orderly officers) to guard the city and to see that no Afghan

entered it. In spite of it, however, many of the places and houses, particularly in the Mughal *Muhalla,* were plundered and devastated. On the recommendation of Haji Muhammad Saeed Lahauri, a local saint, *Muhalla* Lakhi and Abdulla-wari were left untouched. Through the laudable and energetic efforts of Mir Moman Khan, peace was soon restored to Lahore and the privations of the citizens were reduced to a minimum.

The booty acquired by Ahmad Shah from Lahore was enormous. In addition to the ransom and the property of the governor and his family, rich treasures and large quantities of war materials, including guns, *rahkalas* and rockets, accumulated during the past thirty-five years, from the time of Nawab Abdus Samad Khan *Diler-i-Jang* and Zakariya Khan, fell into his hands and Shafqat Khan, *Mir-i-Saman,* was placed in charge of them. All the horses and camels that he could find in the city and its neighbourhood were taken possession of for the use of his men and equipage. With the acquisition of these new mounts, five or six thousand Afghan footmen were mobilized into cavalry units, and a good number of rapidly portable light artillery was added to his military equipment.[21]

The Shah stayed in Lahore for five weeks. During this period the Rajahs of Jammu, Bahu and other northern hills sent their *vakils* with petitions of submission and the leading chiefs and *zamindars* of the Panjab came to do him homage. A coin was also struck bearing the following inscription:

دُرِّ دُرّان احمد شاہ بادشاہ
ضرب دارالسلطنت لاہور
جلوس میمنت مانوس احد

Durr-i-Durran Ahmad Shah Badshah
Zarb-i-Dar-ul-Saltanat-i-Lahaur
Jalus Maimnat Manus Ahad

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21. *Anandram,* 44-5, 256-61; *Shah Namah,* 75-88; *Husain Shahi,* 19; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 234-35; *Siyar,* 862-63 (iii, 257-59); Khushwaqt Rai, 61-62; *Chahar Gulshan-i-Panjab,* 125

King, Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran,
Mint, at the capital of Lahore,
Auspicious Year of the Reign, One.[22]

The author of the *Hadiqat-ul-Auliya* tells us that on his arrival at Shahdara, on the right bank of the Ravi, Ahmad Shah had enquired if there were any saints in Lahore, and the name of *Shaikh Haji* Muhammad Saeed Naqshbandi[23] was mentioned to him. While at Lahore, the Shah paid him a visit. It was for this regard for the saint that Muhalla Lakhi and Abdullah-wari were not touched by any Afghan soldier when some of the other important quarters of the city had been sacked and looted.

As the Shah was busy making preparations for a much bigger contest with the might of the great Mughal empire, he set up a native government in Lahore with Jalhe Khan, an Afghan chief of Kasur, as Governor, Mir Moman Khan, as his deputy, and Lakhpat Rai as *Diwan,* or the chief secretary.[24]

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22. *Husain Shahi,* 19; Latif, *Panjab,* 215.

23 Shaikh Haji Muhammad Saeed is said to have been a well known Muslim saint of Lahore during the eighteenth century He belonged to the Naqshbandi order and was a disciple of Sayyed Mahmud Bin Sayyed Ali Husaini Kurdi. Ghulam Sarwar Mufti, *Hadiqat-ul-Auliya,* 121-22.

24. *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* i 123; *Anandram,* 261. Kanhaiya Lal in his *Tarikh-i-Panjab,* 72, followed by Latif (*Panjab,* 217), says that the governorship was conferred upon Lakhpat Rai and diwanship on Moman Khan. But Anandram, a contemporary, is certainly more reliable.

CHAPTER VI

THE BATTLE OF MANUPUR

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN DELHI

While Ahmad Shah was at Lahore, news poured in daily from Delhi that the Great Mughal, Emperor Muhammad Shah, was fitting out a huge expeditionary force to be sent against him. The court of Delhi had received the warning of the impending invasion of India by the Shah by the middle of November, 1747, immediately after the defeat and flight of Nasir Khan of Kabul. Indications of his intention to extend his territories towards India could be seen in his proclamations to the Afghan tribes. A copy of the proclamation issued by him on the 18th of Rajjab, 1160, A.H., July 15, 1747, to Malik Muhammad Hashim Afridi, appointing him *Malik* and Elder (*Safed Rish,* Grey-Beard) of the Afridi tribe in the Peshawar dominions, had been sent to Delhi by Amir Beg Khan, deputy to Nasir Khan, much earlier, and presented to the Emperor on the 7th of Ramzan, September 1. Kabul was occupied in October and Nasir Khan driven away in early November. It may be said that the usurpation of Lahore by Shah Nawaz Khan and his negotiations with Ahmad Shah had complicated the situation. But nothing was done to help Nasir Khan oppose the Durrani, or to reinforce Shah Nawaz Khan after he had broken with him. In fact, as Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar puts it, "Infatuation had seized his [Muhammad Shah's] Court, and even the fresh memory of the loss and humiliation suffered in consequence of Nadir's invasion could not awaken any one of his officers to a sense of their duty and the needs of the situation. Irresolution, conflict of counsel, procrastination and inertia now marked the measures of the Delhi Government to an even more shameful extent than when the Persian invader was threatening it."[1] The emperor himself was an opium-eating indolent imbecile; and, "inaction is the course dearest

1. *Anandram,* 234-5; Sarkar, i, 211-12.

to imbeciles." Even when the defeated Nasir Khan had arrived in Delhi (November 15, 1747), it took a week to send advance tents out of the capital (November 23); but the actual date for the march was at first fixed for the 11th of Zilhijja, 1160 A H. (December 3), and was then changed to 22nd (December 14). But no movement of troops could be made on that day because the moon was then in the unlucky House of the Scorpion. And nothing effective was done for three weeks more. It was in the meantime suggested to the Emperor that unless he led the army in person, the ease-loving soldiers of Hindustan would not face the ferocious veterans of Afghanistan. But the Emperor fell ill and his physicians would not permit him to move. Nor was he willing to allow his only son to move out in his place at the head of the army. The aged prime minister, Qamar-ud-Din, had been appointed the commander-in-chief, with Nawab Mansur Ali Khan *Safdar Jang* of Oudh and Raja Ishri Singh of Jaipur as his deputies, with a host of other officers to assist him. Huge sums of money totalling sixty lakhs of rupees, were lavishly distributed among these nobles and dignitaries to enable them to equip themselves for the campaign. But they were all, with a few honourable exceptions among the juniors, either lazy, timid or lukewarm, and 'the delay made by them in moving was disgraceful.'[2]

WAZIR QAMAR-UD-DIN MOVES NORTHWARDS

The Wazir-Commander received his formal leave to move out with the army on the 18th of Muharram, 1161, January 8, 1748, the day on which Ahmad Shah arrived at Shahdara near Lahore, but he had to wait for four or five days more for the artillery to be able to move up. Raja Ishri Singh left Delhi on the 23rd of Muharram, January 13, and the huge camp, numbering over two hundred thousand, began to move. Urgent letters were despatched to the Zamindars of Jammu and Lakhi Jungle, to Khuda Yar Khan Abbasi, Ghazi Khan Baluch, Ismail Khan Hot, Walidad Khan and other Zamindars of Multan and Sindh, and to Zahid Khan, the Deputy Governor of Multan, to hurry up with their troops to join the imperial army. They also decid-

2. *Anandram*, 237, 243, 246-8.

ed in a conference of the chiefs that after the third or the fourth stage, when all artillery and troops would have come together, they should by long and hurried marches try to get to Lahore before the Durrani could cross the Chanab. But they had arrived only at Narela, sixteen miles from the capital, when the surprising news arrived that he had already occupied Lahore and was raising fresh troops to march against them. They approached the Emperor with the request to depute the heir apparent, Prince Ahmad, to accompany the army. To this the Emperor at last agreed The prince left Delhi on Sunday, the 11th of Safar, 1161, January 31, 1748, and joined the army near Sonepat on the following day. On arriving at Panipat on the 21st of Safar, February 10, the army was rearranged and the pace was quickened. At Karnal on the 1st of Rabi-ul-Awwal, February 19, news was received that Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhela, the *Faujdar* of Sirhind, had deserted his place and fled to Aonla, his native town, near Moradabad.[3] The army arrived in the neighbourhood of Sirhind on the 7th of Rabi-ul-Awwal and stayed there on the following day (8th Rabi I, February 26) when the extra luggage, carts and camels, belonging mostly to the Wazir, were dropped in the fort of Sirhind without making any appreciable arrangements for its defence beyond leaving a garrison of only one thousand horse and foot under a eunuch. Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan, sons of Ali Muhammad, who had been in Delhi as hostages and had accompanied the prince, were also left there. On the 9th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, the march was resumed in the direction of Macchiwara where the Sutlej was considered to be more easily fordable than at Ludhiana. But in leaving the main road to Delhi, via Ludhiana and Sirhind, open for the Shah to march direct upon the imperial capital, if he so chose, they committed an inexcusable

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3. *Anandram*, 254-55.

According to the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, Ali Muhammad Khan had left Sirhind at the desire of Wazir Qamar-ud-Din, who feared lest he should join the Durrani—*vide* page 423. The *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* tells us that the wazir had suggested to the Emperor the transfer of Ali Muhammad Khan from Sirhind to his own *ilaqa* of Katehr for which a regular royal *farman* was issued in his name, and it was on receipt of this that he had left Sirhind for his home.—Cf. *Hayat-i-Hafiz*, 21.

The Shah had already written from Lahore to the Faujdar of Sirhind, Ali Muhammad Khan, a Ruhila Afghan, to keep ready for submission. He had also promised him the *wazarat* (ministership) of Hindustan after his victory. In the meantime, Emperor Muhammad Shah, as Muhammad Mustajab Khan tells us, had granted to him by a royal *farman* the administration of his own *ilaqa* in Katehr. Ali Muhammad held a conference of his Sardars to seek their advice. The Afghan Sardars counselled in favour of submission to the Shah. But Ali Muhammad Khan was a shrewd man. He said, "Your opinion is excellent, but I know Ahmad Shah will not stay in India. He will soon return to his own country. It is not advisable, therefore, to make ourselves reproachable in the eyes of the people and become hostile to the Emperor and chiefs of Hindustan." He followed the safer course and retired immediately with all his army, numbering about twenty thousand horse and foot, to his own country at the foot of the Kamaun hills, thus indirectly helping the Shah by leaving Sirhind undefended.[7] The Shah crossed the Sutlej at Ludhiana on the 12th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, March 1, and made straight for Sirhind. The Mughals had made no arrangements to block the road with the result that the Durranis met with no opposition on the way. The distance of about forty miles was covered in a day and, on March 2, the Afghans arrived before the walls of Sirhind. The garrison offered but feeble resistance, and, when their ammunition ran out, they opened the gates to the Shah. The entire treasure and luggage and the ladies of the *haram* of the Wazir fell into his hands. A large number of men were put to the sword and women captured as slaves. Many houses in and outside the fort were set on fire and plundered.[8]

The Shah pitched his tent in the Badshahi Bagh, the royal garden, and the army occupied the neighbouring gardens. In order to keep his army light, he despatched the booty and heavy luggage to Lahore where, he thought, it could be more safely deposited for his return journey.

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7. *Gulistan*, 37-8; *Anandram*, 266.

8. *Anandram*, 266; *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 101-2, *Char Chaman Insha-i-Arshadi*, 89-90.

This news was carried to Abul Mansur Khan the same day by his *harkaras* at the village of Bharoli, where Prince Ahmad was at that time encamped. The Wazir was not prepared to believe this, as none of his own *harkaras* who had, perhaps, all been killed, had sent him news even of the arrival of the Durrani. He, therefore, sent a few men to Sirhind, which was only at a distance of about twelve *koh* (about 24 miles) from the camp, to verify the news and was soon disillusioned to find that all was up with the place. The loss of Sirhind and the intelligence that Shah Durrani was preparing himself to march upon Delhi staggered the Indians and it was feared lest they should scatter away without offering a battle. Abul Mansur Khan had to exert a good deal to keep the officers together and he suggested to the Wazir to march towards Delhi in pursuit of the Afghans.[9]

With the news of the Durrani occupation of Sirhind and the dreaded march of the Afghans upon Delhi, great consternation and dismay prevailed in the capital. It reminded the inhabitants of the horrors of the days of Nadir Shah and they began flying with their families and property in large numbers. The Emperor had at last to take strict measures to stop this efflux. He also deputed Mohammad Ishaq Khan, Muhammad Ghazi-ud-Din, Raja Bakht Singh, Raja Himmat Singh, Saad-ud-Din Khan *Khan-i-Saman* and some other officers to move out of the city and occupy the outposts near Sarai Badli and Wazirabad. The defences of the imperial fort were also strengthened. But the result of the battle of Manupur saved the city from all inconveniences.[10]

THE BATTLE OF MANUPUR

On the 14th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, March 3, the prince moved out towards Sirhind and fixed his camp at the village of Manupur at a distance of about five *koh* (10 miles). Ahmad Shah, on the other hand, established his base depot in the gardens of Sirhind and dug his entrenchments two and a half *koh* (about five miles) ahead. The entrenchments were about the same distance from Manupur. The fighting began with the firing of guns from both sides.

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9. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 102-4.
10. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 4b-5a.

The position taken up by the Mughal army was not a safe one. The neighbourhood was all dry and the number of wells for the supply of water insufficient. But it could not be helped as the Afghan entrenchments lay in front, about five miles from Manupur. The Shah, on the other side, was in a more advantageous position, with the city of Sirhind having plenty of food and water behind him. But he was greatly handicapped for want of artillery. He had only one heavy gun and seven pieces of light *top-i-jilan*, as against several hundred Mughal guns of various descriptions, including many heavy pieces. He could not, therefore, launch an offensive against the enemy on any large scale. He had to content himself with sending out roving parties and skirmishers to harass the Mughals on all sides, confine them to the limited area of their camp and thus throw them on the defensive. Their commissariat not properly organized and supplies from the neighbourhood cut off and appropriated by the Afghans, the want of food and fodder, coupled with the scarcity of water, greatly perplexed the Mughal commander-in-chief. Raja Ishri Singh and some other Sardars counselled the Wazir to take the offensive and rush upon the Durranis and drive them away.

But he purposely avoided a general action and was prolonging the war in the hope of starving the Afghans into surrender by setting the local chiefs such as Sardar Ala Singh of Patiala and Rai Kalha of Rai Kot upon their foraging parties and food convoys and ultimately annihilating them with the fire of his artillery. In this way a week passed without any serious fighting. But Ahmad Shah, on the other side, was not sitting inactive. His skirmishing parties had been more successful and he had practically turned the tables upon the Wazir himself. It is true that Sardar Ala Singh and Rai Kalha occasionally succeeded in carrying off a number of Afghan camels and mules to the Wazir's camp, but the huge number of troops in the Mughal camp could not maintain themselves for long without a regular train of convoys. The situation had become difficult with the Durrani rovers hovering round the Mughal camp for miles together. Finding the Wazir thus hedged in, Ahmad Shah thought of taking the offensive. On the 20th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, March 9, he mounted the only heavy gun he

possessed on an eminence near the Mughal camp and started pouring fire into their ranks. It was so well directed that its shots passed over the enemy's entrenchments and reached the tents of the prince and his nobles. A large number of men and animals were killed. The number of casualties appears to have been so large and dismay in the Mughal camp so great that the Wazir, pressed by Abul Mansur Khan and others, felt compelled to hazard an open action.[11]

The day fixed for the general action was Friday, the 22nd of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1160 A.H., March 11, 1748. The whole army of about sixty thousand combatants was divided into five divisions with the chief command in the hands of the Wazir.

1. The van consisting of the Wazir's contingent of Turks and the troops of his sons, Mirs Najam-ud-Din Khan, Fakhar-ud-Din Khan and Sadar-ud-Din, and those of Ahmad Zaman Khan *Talib-i-Jang* and Adina Beg Khan of the Jullunder Doab, was to be led by his elder son, Mir Muin-ud-Din Khan (popularly known as Mir Mannu, and later on entitled Muin-ul-Mulk).
2. Abul Mansur Khan *Safdar Jang*, with a selected detachment of Persian soldiers taken into service from among Nadir's veterans and the Purbias of Hindustan, was to command the right wing.
3. In the centre, the command was held by Prince Ahmad at the head of his personal guards, with Sayyad Salabat Khan and Dilawar Khan to assist him.
4. The left wing was held by Raja Ishri Singh of Jaipur and other Indian chiefs with the Rajput troops.
5. The rear was commanded by Nasir Khan, the ex-governor of Kabul.

The Shah, on the other side, placed three thousand Qizzilbash Iranis under the command of Muhammad Taqi Khan Shirazi and ordered him to move against Mir Mannu,

11. *Anandram*, 267, 271-2; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 5b; *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 104-5.

while he himself, at the head of his Afghan veterans, advanced against Abul Mansur Khan.[12] The camel-swivels were also ordered to remain in readiness for action.

The battle began with fire from the Durrani light guns at about eight o'clock in the morning. The Mughal commander-in-chief had just finished his *Namaz-i-Chasht*, between nine and ten in the morning, and was still on his prayer-carpet reciting the *Wazifa*, when, all of a sudden, a ball from an Afghan gun fell upon his tent and, tearing it, it first struck the ground and then rebounded and wounded him in the back near waist. At that time Farash Khan, Sangin Beg Khan and three or four other companions of his were present there, but nobody else was hurt.[13]

It appeared incredible that the Durrani guns could be so well directed as to hit the Wazir's tent with the very first shot fired at it. Anandram in his *Tazkirah* ascribes it to the information gathered by the spies of the Shah. He tells us that on the 20th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, March 9, two men from the Afghan army came and had an interview with the Wazir. They pretended to have been the old faithful servants of the late Nawab Zakariya Khan of Lahore and said that they had been forcibly recruited for the Durrani service and were willing to desert to the Mughal side with all their followers. The Wazir believed their story, treated them kindly and asked the *darogha* to enlist them for service and to pay them one hundred rupees as *inam*. Equipped with all the information they wished to collect, they went back to the Durrani camp, saying that they would soon return with their men.[14]

There is another story that has been recorded by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*. According to it, one day Ahmad Afghan sent a camel laden with melons, apples, etc., with his men along with a letter addressed to Prince Ahmad desiring peace and stipulating that if Kabul and

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12. According to Ghubar's account, the right flank of the Afghan army was commanded by the *Sipah-salar* Sardar Jahan Khan, the left by Shah Pasand Khan *Amir-i-Lashkar*, while the centre was under the Shah's own command.—*Ahmad Shah Baba*, 200.

13. *Anandram*, 273, 279-80; *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 107-108; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 5b-6a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 425; *Husain Shahi*, 21-22; Sarkar, i, 224-25.

14. *Anandram*, 274-76.

Thatta were left to him, in the same way as to Nadir Shah, and that if the money which Nadir Shah had carried away from Delhi was allowed to be retained by him, he would retire and go back. The Prince sent the letter and the camel to Zulfiqar Jang (Saadat Khan), who forwarded them to Itmad-ud-Daula (Wazir Qamar-ud-Din). The Wazir sent an answer to Ahmad Afghan that he must come with folded hands and present himself before the Prince if he wanted his crimes to be pardoned by the Emperor. The envoy on this occasion, according to the story recorded in the *Imad-us-Saadat,* was Mahdi Quli Khan *Topchi-bashi,* the artillery officer of Ahmad Shah Durrani. He had, on his way back from the Wazir's tent, measured the distance by counting his steps. It was due to this that the Afghan gunner could aim his shot at the exact place of the Wazir's tent. Sayyad Ghulam Ali, the author of the *Imad-us-Saadat,* says that there is no truth in the story and that it is nothing more than a yarn spun by some clever Mughals—on whose authority he has recorded it—to praise their own people.[15]

MIR MANNU TAKES THE COMMAND

Seeing the Wazir fatally wounded, all those present there began to cry and lament. His son, Muin-ud-Din Khan, was then with the batteries. On receipt of a message he hurried to his father's presence. The Wazir could see that he was dying. "It is all up with me, my child," he said to Mir Mannu, as Muin-ud-Din was lovingly called. "But as the Emperor's work is still unfinished, you must mount immediately and deliver the assault before this news spreads. The claim of (the Master's) salt is above everything else. My business may be looked to later on." With these last words to his son and the *Kalimah-i-Shahadat* on his lips, *Wazir-ul-Mumalik Itmadud-Daula Nawab* Qamar-ud-Din Khan *Nusrat Jang,* the Commander-in-Chief of the Mughal army, breathed his last.[16]

The death of his father was very shocking for Mir Mannu but he showed great strength of mind and courage.

15. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi,* 5b; Elliott & Dowson, viii, 108; *Imad-us-Saadat,* 38.

16. *Anandram,* 273; Sarkar, i, 223-24.

Having hurriedly buried him in his blood-stained clothes in the same tent and levelling the ground to leave no marks, Mannu rode his father's elephant and ordered the drums to be beaten. The tragic news was only known to the Prince, Abul Mansur Khan *Safdar Jang,* Saadat Khan *Zulfiqar Jang* and Nasir Khan. It was given out that the Wazir had caught a cold and had ordered his son, Mir Mannu, to lead the army in his place. He then called the Sardars to his presence and made a stirring appeal to them, saying, "Whosoever wishes to come with me to the field of battle may do so, and he, who does not, may go to his tent, for to turn back during the fight is ruinous. As for me, as long as there is life in my body, I shall, with God's grace, fight on." With these words he rushed into the field of action to oppose the advancing Durranis.[17]

Somehow the intelligence of the Wazir having been killed had reached the Durrani chiefs. Thereupon, Muhammad Taqi Khan Shirazi from the right turned to the side of Mir Mannu and delivered assault after assault upon his troops. It was at this time that Mir Mannu reappeared on the scene to cheer up his men and stopped the progress of the Afghans. The Shah sent in fresh draughts to reinforce the Shirazi, but in spite of desperate fighting Mannu could not be dislodged from his position.

The Afghans, however, were more successful on their right where they were faced by the left wing of the Mughals commanded by Raja Ishri Singh. The Rajputs had entered the field in *kesri-bana,* saffron-dyed robes, determined to fight to the last—to conquer or to die. The Shah sent against them a body of three thousand Afghans with two hundred camel swivels. They formed themselves into two divisions. 'Each half galloped up to within easy range of the Rajputs, delivered their fire, and galloped back like the wind. Immediately afterwards the second group attacked in the same way. Thus, while the Rajputs were waiting for the enemy and twirling their moustaches in full confidence of victory by their clever swordsmanship and reckless courage when the contest would come to the decision of the cold steel, they found hundreds of their saddles emptied at each volley, with-

17. *Anandram,* 276; *Byan-i-Waqei,* 137, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi,* 6a.

out their being able to touch the enemy. This strange method of warfare shook the nerves of the Rajputs trained in obsolete tactics of two centuries ago.[18]

FLIGHT OF THE RAJPUTS

Finding the Rajputs unsteady and wavering, the Afghans from the right rushed upon them all at once and poured deadly fire into their ranks. With thousands of the dead and dying before him, Raja Ishri Singh, the chief of the Rajputs, found his courage failing him and sought his safety in running away from the field of action. Those who had come to the field in yellow robes of 'victory or martyrdom', boasting of their unparallelled valour, went flying before the Afghans like chaff before a gust of wind. So precipitate was the flight that they threw their elephant-drum and *rahkalas* into wells and set fire to their extra luggage. Much of it was left on the field itself, and, on the way, many fugitives and loaded camels were dropped uncared for.

Having cleared the Rajputs off the field, Ahmad Shah wheeled to his left and fell upon the rear of Mir Mannu's trenches, threatening the centre held by the Prince. Mannu turned round to check the advancing Afghans and there was a great loss of life on both sides; many officers were killed. There was panic among the Indians and many of them from among the Hindus and Musalmans deserted their posts and fled towards Delhi. It seemed as if the defeat of the Mughals was near.

THE BATTLE AT ITS HEIGHT

Mannu now rose to the full length of his latent faculties and furiously rushed upon the advancing Durranis. He was supported by *Zulfiqar Jang* Saadat Khan and by Nasir Khan from the rear. The Mughals and Afghans came closer and grappled with one another. In addition to the fire of artillery and muskets, there were now flashes of the cold steel which claimed additional toll of human lives. In this hard-fought contest Mannu himself had, not unoften, to discharge

18. Sarkar, i, 227.

volleys of arrows to check the Afghan advance, and he is said to have emptied two quivers on his enemies. The battle raged so furiously that there was hardly an officer who remained unscathed. Mannu himself had his skin scratched by a bullet, his brother Fakhr-ud-Din had been wounded in the foot, Adina Beg Khan of the Jullunder Doab received two bullet-wounds, Jani Khan, *Darogha,* Shahab-ud-Din and his son, Bahroz Khan, and many other officers were killed. It was at this moment of crisis when the fate of the Mughal empire was hanging in the balance that the fresh reinforcements of Abul Mansur Khan *Safdar Jang* turned the tables upon the Durranis.[19]

The Afghans on their left had, in the meantime, been pushed back by *Safdar Jang,* who commanded the Mughal right wing. By the Shah's orders a division of the Afghans and seven hundred camel-swivels had moved up against Abul Mansur Khan *Safdar Jang.* The swivels occupied an eminence and from there directed their fire into the Indian ranks. On this, *Safdar Jang* mounted his elephant to guide his troops. He detached one thousand and seven hundred Persian *sawars* from his division, made them dismount and sent them up on foot to charge the Afghan swivels. With their long muskets (*Jazair*), the Persians fired a volley at the Afghans and, killing a number of them, rushed upon their camels and captured them. The remaining Afghans, finding themselves outnumbered, saved themselves by running back to their main division. Ahmad Shah sent a *lashkar* of the Afghans to recapture the lost swivels, but they could not face the deadly fire pouring from above the eminence manned by the Persians and had to retire pell-mell with a heavy loss. This created a confusion in the ranks of the Afghan wing and it gave way before the advancing *sawars* of *Safdar Jang.* Thus their left wing opposed to Abul Mansur Khan was successfully pushed back.[20]

Abul Mansur Khan had hardly had any breathing time when the intelligence of the Afghan pressure upon Mannu's van and the Prince's centre was conveyed to him. He im-

19. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh,* 109-11; *Anandram,* 277-8, 280-82; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 427-8; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi,* 6b; Sarkar, i, 227-8.

20. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh,* 107-8, 111.

mediately rode out to their assistance, and, with his fresh reinforcements, including seven hundred camel-swivels and a number of heavy guns, dashed straight against the Afghans with incessant fire of shot and shell from his artillery. The troops of Mannu and the Prince, and those of Nasir Khan, also took courage and fought with added vigour. All this came as a surprise to the Afghans who found themselves swarmed on all sides with vastly superior numbers, to stand against which appeared impossible.

CALAMITY IN THE AFGHAN RANKS

At this critical moment came another calamity to add to the misfortune of the Durranis. They had in their train a few carts full of rockets which they had captured at Lahore. One of them caught fire with a spark that fell into it and several thousand rockets flew into the air all at once and dropped back into the Durrani ranks. These sparks, in turn, fell into the other carts and set them ablaze. In the same way the fire passed on to the gunpowder, and, with its explosion, more than a thousand Persian and Afghan soldiers were burnt to death. They took the sound of the rockets *'Sh-Shah-Ku, Sh-Shah-Ku'* as the cries of some evil spirit that had come from India and was hovering about in search of the Shah. This created utter disorder and confusion in the Afghan ranks and they ran in all directions.[21] In this con-

21. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 427, *Anandram,* 283-4; *Mujmil,* 110; *Tarikh-i-Sultani;* 127. Cf. *Husain Shahi,* 22-3, *Tarikh-i-Ali,* 159-60. According to Imam-ud-Din Husaini, the Afghans themselves had unmindfully set fire to them, perhaps, to fly them into the enemy's ranks, with their faces towards their own army. In the confusion created by them in their own ranks, the Afghans in fright ran in all directions saying:

ایں بلائیست کہ از ہندوستان آمدہ شاہ کو شاہ کو میگوید

و بادشاہ را می جوید۔

It is an evil spirit that has come from India, cries out *Shah-ku-, Shah-ku* (where is the Shah? where is the Shah?) and is in search of the Shah. p. 23.

[Continued on p. 68

fusion it became impossible for the exhausted Afghans to withstand the attacks of *Safdar Jang*. So they gave way. Though defeated, Ahmad Shah saved the Afghans from utter rout and wholesale massacre. He knew he could not, at that stage, bring all his men together for a counter-attack to retrieve the lost position. He, therefore, decided to retire towards Sirhind. But he kept his head cool and clear and withdrew his men step by step. Under the pressure of the Mughals, he would withdraw to some distance and then arrange his men in a battle array and begin firing. He would fall back again and repeat the same tactics. Towards the evening he came to a *garhi*, a small mud-fortress, between Manupur and Sirhind, and occupied it. From under its shelter, he started firing into the advancing Mughals and checked their advance. By the time the guns arrived, it was all dark and the Mughals returned to their camp. Under cover of darkness, Ahmad Shah retired to Sirhind and began his preparations for his return to Afghanistan. The Mughals had expected him back in the field on the morning of the 23rd of Rabi-ul-Awwal, March 12. But as he had made no appearance, they sent out *harkaras* to find out his whereabouts. But they returned only with rumours that he had been slain in the battle or at least seriously wounded. On the 24th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, Ahmad Shah sent out some pieces of light artillery to engage the enemy, while he himself was making arrangements for the despatch of his treasure and luggage to Lahore.

RETREAT OF THE AFGHANS

The Mughals held their ground on the 25th also. On the 26th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, March 15, Ahmad Shah sent Muhammad Taqi Khan to the Prince with a pretended message for peace, saying that he would return to his country if the territories given over to Nadir Shah be left to him. The Prince

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[Continued from p. 67

The *Tarikh-i-Ali* of Muhammad Saleh Qudrat tells us that these rockets, *ban*, had been captured by the Durranis from the artillery of Mir Mannu during the battle. When Mahram Khan, the artillery officer of Mir Mannu, later on, directed his fire towards the Durranis, the carts of these rockets caught fire and worked havoc in the Durrani ranks. p 159.

and Muin were not in a mood to hear anything of the sort and sent back a curt reply. Ostensibly dejected at the refusal of peace terms, the Afghans appeared again for a fight on the 27th of Rabi-ul-Awwal. But, in fact, this was all to beguile the Prince and *Safdar Jang* and gain time to get their treasure and luggage safely out of Sirhind and save them from falling into the hands of the Mughals. The main army had left unperceived with all the property and some important prisoners of war, including Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan, sons of Ali Muhammad Khan, by an unfrequented jungle-path and it was only the rear-guard that was playing hide and seek with the Mughals and keeping them side-tracked. On the 28th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, March 17, it also disappeared, and before the Afghans could be traced and chased, they reached Ludhiana, crossed the Sutlej and marched towards Lahore.[22]

The Mughals could not pursue the Afghans during their retreat for two reasons. Firstly, Emperor Muhammad Shah, the father of Prince Ahmad, who commanded the army, was in poor health and the Prince was naturally anxious to return to Delhi. But more anxious than the Prince was Nawab *Safdar Jang* who aspired to be the next prime minister. He evaded carrying out the Prince's order to cross the Sutlej and advance upon Lahore. All operations, however, had to be suspended on April 9 when the Prince received a letter of recall from the Emperor who died on April 15 when the Prince was yet on his way to Delhi. Secondly, the death of Wazir Qamar-ud-Din, the father of Mir Mannu, had robbed the hero of the battle of Manupur not only of patronage but also of all hopes of support and encouragement. *Safdar Jang* was an old enemy of Qamar-ud-Din and he would do nothing that in any way advanced the interests of Mannu.

At the second stage from Sirhind,[23] the Shah received the news of his nephew Luqman Khan's rebellion at Qanda-

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22. *Anandram*, 284-85, 291-92, 295-96, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 7a-8a; *Mujmil* 112; *Husain Shahi*, 23, *Farah Bakhsh*, 42; *Jam-i-Jahan Numa;* 14, *Majma-ul-Akhbar*, 471.

23. The author of the *Ahmad Shah Baba* tells us that the news of Luqman Khan's rebellion had been received by the Shah on the battlefield and that it had prompted his hurried retreat to his country. (p. 204.)

har. The Shah had, therefore, to hurry back to his country. He could not for long stay at Lahore to punish Lakhpat Rai, who had, a couple of days earlier, turned out Jalhe Khan Afghan of Kasur from Lahore and taken the administration into his own hands.

Hearing of the defeat of the Durranis in the battle of Manupur, Lakhpat Rai sent a message to Jalhe Khan saying, "Your patron has been defeated and has fled away. It is better for you also to fly away safely or else you will be made a prisoner." The Afghan quietly left Lahore and went away. Ahmad Shah did not stay in Lahore longer than was absolutely necessary for the collection and despatch of his luggage, after which he left for Qandahar.[24]

It seems that the Shah was not able to carry away all his baggage to Afghanistan as, according to an entry in the *Delhi Chronicle*, some of his property brought by Mahdi Quli Khan from Lahore was received at Delhi on the 28th of December, 1748.[25]

On his way from Lahore the Shah was harassed by some of the Sikh Sardars. With the slackening of repression against them from the provincial headquarters, they rushed into the plains and availed themselves of the opportunity presented to them by the flying Afghans. Sardar Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia who, later on, established himself at Gujranwala, made several surprise attacks upon the Shah's rear as far as the Indus and relieved him of a number of horses and other property.[26]

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24. *Mujmil*, 112-13; Khushwaqt Rai, 63. Khushwaqt Rai says that on his arrival at Lahore, Ahmad Shah asked Lakhpat Rai to allow him to occupy the city in order to enable him to fight. Lakhpat Rai replied that, as the imperial troops had arrived at Lahore two days earlier, he was helpless The Shah might take it from them by force. This, Ahmad Shah could not do and he went back to his country. This is not borne out by facts. The imperial army did not cross the Sutlej on this occasion, and the troops of Mir Mannu, who was appointed the governor of Lahore, crossed it on the 23rd of Rabi-us-Sani and arrived at Lahore a month later. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 9b.

25. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's translation, entry of December 28, 1748.

26. Bakht Mal, *Khalsa Namah*, 32; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, i. 127; Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs* (1849), 100-01.

REBELLION OF LUQMAN KHAN

The first thing that the Shah on his arrival at Qandahar had to do was to suppress the rebellion of his nephew, Luqman Khan.

Luqman was the son of Ahmad Shah's elder brother, Zulfiqar Khan. The Shah had always looked upon him as his own son. On his departure for Ghazni and Kabul, he had appointed him a *naib,* or deputy governor, at Qandahar. Finding the Shah busy with his Indian campaign away from his own country, some of the disaffected and vagabond tribesmen of little importance, who were waiting for an opportunity, collected round Luqman Khan and persuaded him to declare his independence. The Khan himself had for a long time been entertaining similar intentions. He removed many of the old and experienced servants and officers of the Shah and set up in their places men of his own choice, thus upsetting the old arrangements of the Shah for the administration of the country.

But no sooner did Luqman's favourites hear the news of the Shah's return to Qandahar than they quietly dispersed to their homes on the very first night. Thus deserted by all his accomplices, he came face to face with the realities of the situation. He could see the punishment that awaited him. Promising to behave himself in future, he sent mediators to beg the Shah's pardon. The Shah sent for him to his presence, removed him from his office and sent him to prison. After two or three days he quietly handed him over to a Persian soldier who put him to death.[27]

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27. The Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone in his *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul* (London, 1842), 288, places this event after the return of Ahmad Shah from his third Indian invasion in 1752. I have followed the *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh,* 113, according to which the information of Luqman's rebellion reached Ahmad Shah at the second stage from Sirhind on his way back to Afghanistan. Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar in his *Ahmad Shah Baba* agrees with the *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh* with the only difference that according to the latter the Shah had received the news on the battle-field during the so-called peace negotiations which, says Ghubar, had at first been started by the Mughal Prince Ahmad. To me the account of negotiations given by *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* appears to be more reliable.

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND INVASION OF INDIA

AGREEMENT WITH MIR MANNU

Having suppressed the revolt of Luqman Khan, Ahmad Shah found his country secure. He spent the summer in Qandahar making preparations for his future campaigns. He had two things to attend to immediately: first, the regaining of his prestige in India and, second, the conquest of Herat. It is true that Herat was the home of the Abdali tribe and was an important Afghan province—still under the Persians—without which there could be no consolidated Afghanistan. But Ahmad Shah decided in favour of an invasion of India, evidently, for three reasons. First, Amir Muin-ul-Mulk (Mir Mannu), the hero of the battle of Manupur, was now the governor of the Panjab. He was appointed to this office by Prince (later on Emperor) Ahmad (Shah) on the evening of the 23rd of Rabi-us-Sani, 1161 A.H., April 11, 1748 A.D., before his departure for Delhi. He had by this time established himself in his government on the eastern frontier of Afghanistan, and his strength in men and material was daily increasing. He could easily threaten and disturb Peshawar and the border territories during the absence of Ahmad Shah from Qandahar.

Secondly, Nasir Khan, the ex-governor of Kabul, had been reappointed governor of that province on the morning of the 24th of Rabi-us-Sani, 1161, April 12, 1748, and he had come to Lahore where Muin-ul-Mulk had promised to help him in regaining Kabul.[1] The combined forces of Muin and Nasir could be a source of danger to Kabul if the Shah were to be entangled in the campaign of Herat. Thirdly, with the discredit of the defeat in India, he could not march with pride for the conquest of Herat from the Persians, who had won glory as conquerors of India.

The political situation in the imperial capital at Delhi was also then favourable for an invasion of India. The old Emperor, Muhammad Shah, had followed his Wazir Qamar-

1. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 9b; *Tahmas Namah*, B 5.

ud-Din to the grave on the 27th of Rabi-us-Sani, April 15. Prince Ahmad was crowned Emperor of India with the title of Ahmad Shah. The new Emperor had spent his youth in the *haram* and had received no training in the art of war or governance. Dull by nature, indolent by habit and given to sensual pleasures, he was a puppet in the hands of the eunuchs of the *haram* and danced to the tune of selfish and vulgar courtiers. The prime minister, Safdar Jang, looked more to the satisfaction of his personal animosities than to the strengthening of the state. An old rival and enemy of the late Wazir Qamar-ud-Din, he hatched secret plans to reduce the power of Mir Mannu by setting up rivals against him. He instigated the ungrateful Nasir Khan against his patron, Mir Mannu, and, later on, sent Shah Nawaz Khan to take forcible possession of his province of Multan. With such a man at the helm of affairs, Mannu could expect no help from Delhi in the case of an invasion from the west.[2]

The peace of the province of the Panjab itself was being occasionally disturbed by the rising power of the Sikhs. Though roughly curbed by the iron hand of Mir Mannu, they hit back furiously whenever and wherever the pressure decreased. Within a fortnight of the Durrani retreat, when the old government had become ineffective and no new government had been established, the Sikhs rushed out of their mountain and jungle recesses to which they had been driven for shelter by the movable columns of Zakariya Khan and his successors, occupied some territories in the Jullundur Doab, turned out the Mughal deputy from Amritsar and declared their independence at their religious centre. They also raised a mud enclosure like a small fortress, called the Ram Raoni, the siege of which had in those days engaged some of Mannu's best officers.[3] All these factors combined to influence the decision of Ahmad Shah Durrani in favour of invading India, and, before the close of the year 1748,[4] he

2. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi,* 10a; *Tarikh-i-Ali,* 212-13; Sarkar, i. 328-30; *Ahwal-i-Salatin,* 176.

3. Khushwaqt Rai, 67-8; Ratan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash,* 398-404.

4. Some writers have placed the second invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani in the autumn-winter of 1749-50. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal*

marched upon the Panjab. He sent orders, in advance, to the tribes of Peshawar and its neighbourhood to keep ready to join him during his march. These orders were carried out and the tribes met him at their respective stages

On his arrival at Peshawar, he paid a visit to Shaikh Umar, the well-known saint of Chamkanni, and received his blessings. He then sent Sardar Jahan Khan Popalzei in advance at the head of a well-equipped force. A large number of Khatak tribesmen joined him at the ferry of Attock and his army continued to swell with the influx of local zamindars and their followers at the fords of the Jhelum and the Chanab.[5] The Shah followed him soon after, and, finding the other side of the Chanab occupied by Muin-ul-Mulk and the passage blocked, he ordered the army to be encamped.

Hearing of the Shah's advance towards Lahore, Mir Muin-ul-Mulk had commenced his preparations for defence and issued out of Lahore to check the invader's progress on the Chanab. He appointed Sayyad Ivaz Khan to officiate for him as deputy in Lahore during his absence. His army had at that time been in arrears of pay for several months. He desired Lakhpat Rai to pay them. But no money, as the *Diwan* reported, could be raised in those disturbed days. Mannu was, therefore, compelled to open the doors of his

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Empire, i. 417-19, Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, 63-5) The *Khazana-i-Amira*, the *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan* and the *Halat-i-Multan* place this event in 1162 A.H., which commences on December 11, 1748 A.D., and ends on November 29, 1749. According to this, it should be placed before November, 1749. The *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 157, tells us that after his return from his first Indian invasion (April, 1748), Ahmad Shah spent his summer in Qandahar and invaded India for the second time in winter. This can only be the winter of 1748-49, corresponding to 1162 A.H, during which the Shah is said to have returned to his country. The *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* says (17a), 'after a few months (*bad chand mah*) Ahmad Afghan crossed the Indus and came towards Lahore.' This is supported by the *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, Vol. I. 128-9, wherein it is clearly stated that after eight or nine months Ahmad Shah invaded the Panjab for the second time in Maghar 1805, (November, 1748). Also see Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan* 66; Kalyan Singh, *Khulasa-tu-Tawarikh*, 56b; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, i. 360; Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, 286-87.

5. *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya*, 114.

own treasure and pay his men before he could lead them to the campaign. Despatching fast messengers to Delhi for reinforcements, he marched from Lahore to meet the advancing Durranis and set up his camp at Sohdara. Adina Beg Khan of the Jullundur Doab and Mehdi Ali Khan were the two important officers in his train. Not finding himself strong enough to face the Durranis, he could not run the risk of a general action and kept waiting for reinforcements from Delhi. But he was waiting in vain. No help was to come from there.[6]

For some time skirmishes continued between the two armies and no decisive battle was fought. Ahmad Shah then hit upon another plan. He divided his army in two sections. One section he kept under his own command to keep Mir Mannu engaged at Sohdara. The other he placed under his general, Sardar Jahan Khan, and ordered him to harass his rear and ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Lahore. Jahan Khan devastated the whole land and carried fire and sword wherever he went. He reached as far as Shahdara on the Ravi, opposite Lahore, at a distance of two *kos* from the city. But he found his passage blocked and could not cross over to the city to capture it. Ivaz Khan defended the fords of the Ravi with guns and maintained a continuous fire in the face of the Durranis. Finding his attempt to take the city thus foiled, Jahan Khan returned to the main army after some two months of destruction and devastation.[7]

On the day when Jahan Khan was encamping at Shahdara and threatening the capital of the Panjab, *Nawab* Kapur Singh, the leader of the theocratic army of the Sikhs—the *Dal Khalsajio*—availed himself of the chaos and confusion in the city, and, with the consent of the citizens, entered it with a small band of twenty horsemen and established him-

6. *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 129; Khushwaqt Rai, 66; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 211-12. According to Khushwaqt Rai, the name of the deputy was Izzat Khan.

7. Khushwaqt Rai, 66; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 212; *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya*, 118. Cf. *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, 129.

self at the *chabutra*[8] of the Kotwali.[9] His object, evidently, was to get as much money in this confusion as possible from the octroi headquarters of the city and then quietly retire to the camp of his main *Dal*. This explains the reason of his being accompanied by so small a number of Sikhs and his leaving the city as soon as Muin's deputy beat his drum to march his troops against him.

The news of the arrival of the Durranis at the Chanab and of the ravage of the country at the hands of Jahan Khan was constantly reaching Delhi and pouring into the ears of the Emperor and the Wazir. But no one thought of sending troops and money to assist the governor of Lahore. 'On the contrary the Wazir,' says the author of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 'was not a little pleased to hear of his embarrassment.'[10] Muin-ul-Mulk was thus left by the central government to his own resources.

At this stage came an envoy from the Shah. As Jahan Khan had not been successful in breaking through the defences of Lahore and surprising the city, he had returned to the Shah's camp. The Shah, therefore, sent Mahrab Khan[11] with a letter to Muin asking him to surrender. Muin readily accepted the proposal and sent *Pir* Shaikh Abdul Qadir and *Allama Maulawi* Abdullah to settle the terms of peace. Nizam-ud-Din Ishrat, the author of the *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya*, also accompanied them.

From the Indian trenches to the Shah's pavilion 'the passage was covered with the shadow of swords' and the Durranis appeared so dreadful that 'blood in the veins,' as Nizam-ud-Din puts it, 'went dry, and words of the Quran came to the lips.' Arriving near the tent of Khan Jan Khan, as Sardar Jahan Khan was originally called, Shaikh Abdul Qadir came down from his palanquin and turned towards a mosque

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8. The word *chabutra* literally means a raised platform, but was then colloquially used for an octroi post.

9. Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, 66-67.

10. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 17a-b; Elliot, VIII. 115.

11. According to the *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 212, the envoy's name was Khush Mir Khan and he was a *ham-zulf* (wife's sister's husband) of Jahan Khan. Under Mannu's instructions, Mahdi Ali Khan became the host of the Shah's *elchi*.

for prayers. The proud Khan respectfully led the Shaikh and scattered from over his head a few *dinars* among the poor. The companions of the Shaikh were then separated from him and he was sent by Jahan Khan to the Shah escorted by his own horsemen.[12]

THE TREATY OF PEACE

The Shah went out of the camp to receive Shaikh Abdul Qadir and Maulawi Abdullah[13] and welcomed them with all the honour due to an envoy and a *Pir*. The Shah was pleased to accept the vessels of gold and other presents sent by Mir Mannu, and the terms of peace were concluded to the satisfaction of both the parties. It was agreed that all the territories west of the Indus would be considered as forming part of the Afghan dominions and that the revenue of the Chahar Mahal, or the four districts of Sialkot, Aurangabad, Gujrat and Pasrur, assessed at fourteen lakhs a year, would be assigned to him.[14] This was only the reiteration of the treaty signed in 1739 between Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi and Nadir Shah. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* tells us that Muin had concluded this treaty according to the advice, approval and written instructions of his master Emperor Ahmad Shah of Delhi and that Nasir Khan was appointed to manage these four Mahal and send the yearly

12. *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* 120-3.

13. Nizam-ud-Din tells us that the companions of the Shaikh including Mirza Ubaid, Khel Sufi and Nizam-ud-Din himself were kept in detention. It is evident that this Mirza Ubaid was a different person from Maulawi Abdullah, also called Ubaidullah by some writers. The *Tahmas Namah,* p. B. 4, mentions the name of Maulawi Abdullah alone as entrusted with the negotiations for peace. But I have followed the *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* the author of which, Nizam-ud-Din. must naturally be more reliable as being one of those who accompanied the envoy.

14. *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* 125-7; *Bayan-i-Waqei,* 146; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi,* 17b (Elliot and Dowson, VIII. 115); *Tahmas Namah,* B. 4, *Tarikh-i-Ali,* 212-3; *Tarikh-i-Muzzafri,* 458; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 874-5; *Mulakhas-ut-Tawarikh,* 367; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* 129; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 241; *Ahwal-i-Salatin,* 176; *Talkhis-i-Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi,* 6b-7a.

revenue to Kabul.[15] This attitude of the Emperor may be explained in two ways: first, that he wished to extricate his old friend from this difficult situation and sent him secret instructions to appease the Durrani by accepting his demands; secondly, that he did it at the suggestion of the prime minister, Safdar Jang, to reduce the power of Muin on the one hand and to ward off the Durrani invasion of India on the other.

But the treaty was more advantageous to the Shah. He had brought the victor of Manupur to his knees and removed the Mughal danger from the east. The annual revenue of fourteen lakhs of rupees would add to his resources. Above all, he had established his prestige both in India and at home. Regarding the four *Mahal*, "they were, no doubt, to be still governed by the Delhi Emperor's agents and in his name;" "but the Afghan," as Sir Jadunath Sarkar puts it, "all the same, got the first slice of India proper,"[16] forming, in time of need, a strong flank against the hill-chiefs of Jammu and Kashmir.

SHAH RETURNS TO AFGHANISTAN

The Shah now began his homeward march by a south-western route through Multan and the Deras. On his arrival at Dera Ghazi Khan, Zahid Khan Saddozei of Multan came to pay his respects and to present to him his petition against his removal from the governorship of Multan.

ZAHID KHAN SADDOZEI

Zahid Khan, son of Abid Khan, was the grandson of Shah Husain Khan Saddozei who had retired to India during the time of Sher Khan. When Shah Nawaz Khan left Multan for Lahore after the death of his father, Zakariya Khan, he appointed Khwaja Is'haq Khan deputy governor of the province. Zahid Khan went to Delhi to press his own claim and was successful, through Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhila, in presenting his case to Wazir Qamar-ud-Din. Equipped with the royal *sanad*, he returned to Multan. Is'haq Khan came

15. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 17a (Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 115). According to this work, one of the four districts ceded to the Shah was Emmabad and not Gujrat, as given by others.

16. Sarkar, *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, i. 419.

out to give him battle, but was defeated. Zahid Khan became the governor of Multan. During the first Durrani invasion of India (1747-8), he was confirmed by Ahmad Shah in that position. But when Mir Mannu became the governor of the provinces of Lahore and Multan, he did not find it expedient to retain a Saddozei Abdali of the tribe of Ahmad Shah in that province. Diwan Kaura Mall was, therefore, appointed to succeed him. Zahid Khan refused to acknowledge the authority of Mir Mannu and marched out to oppose him. But he was worsted in a battle near the village of Mati-Tal and made to flee towards Sitpur. On his return to Lahore, Kaura Mall left the administration of the province in the hands of his deputy, Abdul Aziz Khan Saddozei. It was during the time of this deputy that the Shah came to Dera Ghazi Khan on his return from the Chanab.

The Shah had either no time to hear the complaints of Zahid Khan or the latter could not present his case clearly to him He desired his Saddozei *amirs* to hear in detail the grievances of Zahid Khan and then place them before him in a summarized form. The *amirs* held mutual consultations and came to the conclusion that Zahid Khan's enemy was Abdul Aziz Khan. But as the latter was also a Saddozei, they felt reluctant to say anything against him. Finding the *amirs* in a suspense, Zahid Khan said that his real enemy was Kaura Mall, a Hindu. But as the Shah had entered into a treaty with Muin-ul-Mulk, the real governor of Multan, nothing could be done for Zahid Khan, who returned to Sitpur to wait for the arrival of Shah Nawaz Khan with whom he was already in friendly correspondence.[17]

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17. Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan,* 242-248.

For more details regarding Zahid Khan see Muhammad Yusuf Gardezi, *Halat-i-Multan,* 56, Sher Muhammad Khan, *Zubda-tul-Akhbar Waqaya-i-Multan,* 22-9; Amar Nath, *Zafar Nama-i-Ranjit Singh,* 105-13. Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar in his *Ahmad Shah Baba* places the case of Zahid Khan before Ahmad Shah during the Shah's return to Afghanistan after the first invasion. But that appears to be improbable as the Shah then returned to Afghanistan via Peshawar and Kabul and not via Multan, pp. 204-5 After Shah Nawaz Khan had arrived from Delhi with the help of Safdar Jang and taken possession of Multan, Kaura Mall marched upon him from Lahore. Shah Nawaz Khan was killed in battle and Zahid Khan died as soon as he heard of his friend's death.

THE DERAS SURRENDER TO THE SHAH

It was probably at this time that the southern Afghan tribes of the Deras—Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan —also acknowledged Ahmad Shah as their king. He confirmed the old tribal chiefs in their respective possessions, and, having thus settled the affairs of these parts, he went back to Qandahar.[18] Mir Naseer Khan, the chief of Kalat in Baluchistan, also allied himself with Ahmad Shah Durrani at this time and became one of his chief supporters.

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18. Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 286.

Chapter VIII

THE ANNEXATION OF HERAT

A PLOT AGAINST THE SHAH SUPPRESSED

On the Shah's return to Qandahar, a serious plot to assassinate him leaked out a few moments before the time fixed for its execution. The leader in this plot was Nur Muhammad Khan Alizei who had held command of the Afghan troops under Nadir Shah. Ever since the withdrawal of the command from him on the rise of Ahmad Shah, he had been hatching secret plans against him. Nur Muhammad Khan had been duly honoured by the Shah, who had given him the title of *Mir-i-Afghan,* the leader of the Afghans.

But ambition tortured Nur Muhammad Khan who had once ruled and enjoyed power. He took into his confidence a number of other Afghan chiefs such as Muhabbat Khan Popalzei, Kadu Khan and Osman Khan *Topchibashi* who were becoming jealous of the daily increasing power of Ahmad Shah and of the glory that he had recently acquired in the Panjab and the Deras. They conspired to assassinate him on an eminence called Maqsud Shah in the village of Shamali Shahr, a northern suburb of Qandahar. One of the conspirators, however, informed the Shah of the plot against his life. For such a crime there was at that time but one punishment. Nur Muhammad Khan and all his accomplices, with ten men for each of the tribes most deeply compromised, were put to death on the same eminence. 'The selection of ten men from the guilty tribe to suffer for the lapses of that tribe, gives a curious insight into the system of punishment for conspiracy prevalent at that period.'

There was at this a stir among the Afghan chiefs. As these were the first executions ordered by Ahmad Shah, they were afraid lest he should adopt the same severe measures against them at any future time. They questioned his right to award capital punishment, and, 'after the executions were over, they agitated the question whether or not the *lex talionis* (the law of retaliation) should be applied to the Shah and

his family; they also wished to limit his power, or rather subject it to their approbation; but the Shah suppressed with energy this feeling on the part of the chiefs, and 'his determination and justice,' says Ferrier, 'soon produced tranquillity in the countries subject to his dominion.'[1]

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN PERSIA

Herat, as we know, was still in the hands of the Persians. Its conquest was absolutely necessary for consolidating the countries inhabited by the Afghans into one homogeneous political unit—Afghanistan. It was held by an Arab chief, Amir Khan, on behalf of Mirza Shah Rukh, the grandson of Nadir Shah.

Before we follow Ahmad Shah Durrani on his march against Herat, and then Mashhad and Nishapur, it seems necessary to trace the course of events in Persia during the two preceding years. Nadir Shah was assassinated, as we know, at the instigation of his own nephew, Ali Quli Khan, who ascended the throne under the title of Adil Shah. To win the sympathies of the people, his first act was to condemn by a proclamation the barbarities of Nadir and to accept the responsibility of the murder of a tyrant, 'who,' as Hanway puts it, 'delighted in blood, and, with unheard of barbarity, made pyramids of heads of his own subjects.' But he himself proved to be no better. He massacred the whole family of Nadir, with the solitary exception of Shah Rukh, son of the unfortunate Raza Quli Khan, who had been blinded by Nadir himself. Adil was dethroned and blinded by his own brother Ibrahim, who, in turn, was defeated and murdered by his own troops.

Shah Rukh then came to the throne, but he was opposed and defeated by a rival in the person of Mirza Sayyad Muhammad (a superintendent of the tomb of Imam Raza), who blinded the monarch and succeeded him with the title of *Suleman Shah.* But Suleman was not to reign in peace. Shah Rukh's general Yusuf Ali was absent on duty against Ahmad Shah Durrani in Herat when his master had been worsted.

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1. *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 127-8; *Ahmad Shah Baba,* 207-8; Ferrier, *History of the Afghans,* 73-4; Malleson, *History of Afghanistan,* 280-81.

He hurried back to wreak his vengeance upon Suleman and put him to death along with two of his sons. Shah Rukh was restored to the throne, and Yusuf Ali became his regent. But the tragic drama had not yet come to an end. Soon after Shah Rukh's restoration, Yusuf Ali was overpowered and blinded by Mir Alam Khan, the commander of the Arabs of Sistan, and Jafar Khan, the commander of the Kurds. The two chiefs who had joined hands against Yusuf Ali soon fell out and the vanquished Jafar Khan was added to the long list of the blinded persons. Mir Alam Khan was, in turn, defeated and killed by Ahmad Shah Durrani in the battle of Mashhad, after which it was, as we shall presently see, decided by the Afghan monarch to constitute under Shah Rukh a separate state of Khurasan, acknowledging Afghan suzerainty.[2]

THE SIEGE OF HERAT

To return to the Durrani campaign of Herat. While the struggle for the throne of Persia was raging between Suleman Shah and Shah Rukh, petitions from Amir Khan and Bahbud Khan of Herat were received at Qandahar, informing the Shah of the confused and unsettled state of affairs in that country. This was a welcome news. Having completed his preparations, Ahmad Shah moved out of Qandahar in the spring of 1749 with an army of twenty-five thousand men and horse[3] and marched against Herat. As he reached the place, he wrote to Amir Khan and Bahbud Khan inviting them to his presence. The Khans seemed inclined to accept the invitation, but the leading citizens of Herat objected to this attitude of the chiefs and decided to arrest them.

This alarmed Amir Khan and his friend and they repented of their conduct. Amir Khan strengthened the defences

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2. Sykes, *History of Persia,* ii. 370-72; Hanway, *Travels.*

3. According to the *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh,* 76, the Afghan army at this time numbered about forty thousand, consisting of the Yusufzeis, the Umarzeis and the Saddozeis and other tribes of the Abdalis and the Ghalzeis. Ferrier, in his *History of the Afghans,* 74, gives the number as seventy thousand, which seems to be very much inflated. He places the event in 1750.

of the fort, placed his guns on the towers of the city and replied to the Shah's letter with fire from his artillery.

Deciding to take the city by assault, the Shah moved forward. But the fire from the city's defences was so heavy and casualties so many that he had to fall back. He then consulted his military chiefs, who all agreed with him in the opinion that the siege of Herat should be continued with vigour. The blockade of the city was tightened and the siege continued for several months.[4]

Amir Khan had written several letters to his master, Shah Rukh Mirza, at Mashhad. But he was not without troubles of his own and could ill afford to move out of Mashhad. Sir Percy Sykes tells us in his *History of Persia* that "Shah Rukh had despatched Yusuf Ali to meet him [Ahmad Shah Durrani], and it was during his absence on this duty that the Shah had been defeated and captured."[5] But there is no mention of his coming into contact with Ahmad Shah and measuring swords with him. Probably he never reached Herat and hurried back to Mashhad on hearing of the activities of Suleman against his Master.

THE LAST STAGE

Ahmad Shah, on the other hand, continued the siege with increasing vigour and at last succeeded in reducing the city by a successful assault. Finding that the siege was becoming long and tedious, he, one day, appealed to the Afghans to make an all-out effort to capture the city. They decided among themselves to rush out with the words of the Quran—*Kalima-i-Shahadat*—on their lips and not to think

4. The *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 77-79, gives the period of the siege of Herat as nine months, while Ferrier's *History of the Afghans*, 74, extends it to fourteen months According to the *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 128, it continued for four months. Malleson, following Elphinstone, however, says, "Herat succumbed after a siege of fourteen days." See *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, 287.

In the absence of any clear chronological account of these events, it is extremely difficult to determine the correct period, but *nine months* may be conveniently presumed to be correct This will place the fall of Herat in the year 1750, mentioned by some of the writers, including Ferrier (p. 74), and Sykes (*History of Afghanistan*, i. 356).

5. p. 371-72.

of retracing their steps till the fort was taken. The Shah and all his chiefs and men recited the *fateha*, the Quranic prayer for blessing and for the dead, and prepared themselves for the decisive battle of the morning. Coming to know of this determination of the Afghans, the besieged also made the necessary preparations for the coming struggle.

Early in the following morning, the Afghans rushed upon the fort. Unmindful of the deadly fire that was being poured into their ranks and of the heavy loss of life that they were suffering, they pushed on. Thousands of them fell dead and wounded, but nothing could dismay them Wading through pools of blood and running over the heaps of their own dead and dying soldiers, the Afghans, at last, reached the fort with the close of the day. The besieged threw burning gunpowder on them, but, true to their word, the Afghans wavered not and stuck to their ground. At this time the Shah desired one of his men to deliver his message to the besieged. Shouting at the top of his voice, the crier said, "Our Shah says that we have come here at your call and request. What is all this resistance and struggle for? Things have now reached a stage when you cannot get out and we cannot go back. Stop fighting and convey this message to your *Sardars* and bring their reply. Our Shah is waiting for it. To the last breath of the last Afghan soldier, we shall continue this struggle for the fort." On receipt of this message, Amir Khan and Bahbud Khan were set athinking. "It is nine months," they thought, "since we have been daily fighting. We have made repeated requests to Shah Rukh for reinforcement, but nothing has come. The provisions in the fort are all exhausted. The Afghans are being daily reinforced. We had petitioned the Shah to come. By this message he seeks peace. Now that our men can no longer hold the fort without provisions, it is politic to make peace." Eventually, they sent a message for peace.

THE FINAL ASSAULT

Finding the defenders of Herat off their guard in view of the messages exchanged between the Shah and Amir Khan, the Afghans availed themselves of the darkness of night, climbed the walls of the fort from the side of the steps and

entered its towers and bastions. Hearing the noise, the Herat Sardars hurried to the spot with their men to drive out the Afghans. While they were thus engaged, more and more Afghans came in with the help of ladders, and the fighting began. In the confusion thus caused inside the fort, a few Afghans rushed towards the gate under cover of darkness and opened it. The defenders of the gate were soon overpowered and cut to pieces. The whole army then entered the city and sacked it indiscriminately with the dawn of the day

Amir Khan, says Ferrier, witnessed the fall of Herat from the citadel. Determined to make one last effort, he assembled his men and descended into the suburbs. But it was all in vain. Assailed in front by the Durranis and in the rear by some Heratis who were of their party, his soldiers were exterminated in large numbers, and he was forced to retire.

Ahmad Shah was still encamped outside the fort. Amir Khan and Bahbud Khan presented themselves as suppliants before him and begged his pardon for their past behaviour. The Shah annexed Herat to his own dominions and placed its government in the hands of Darwesh Ali Khan Hazarah.[6]

Thus was the original home of the Abdalis united with the other Afghan provinces, completing the consolidation of the Afghan territories into an *Afghan-Stan,* Afghanistan.

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6 *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh,* 76-81, *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 128. Ferrier, *Afghans* 74-5; Elphinstone, *Caubul,* 287-8, Malleson, *History of Afghanistan* 281; Sykes, *History of Persia,* 370-72. According to Ferrier, Amir Khan was 'hacked to pieces on the spot' in his final efforts for the defence of Herat But I have followed the *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh.*

Chapter IX

THE CAMPAIGNS AND CONQUEST OF KHURASAN

MASHHAD—

MIR ALAM KHAN DEFEATED AND KILLED

Having secured Herat, Ahmad Shah thought of taking Mashhad and Nishapur. About twelve thousand fresh troops, which had been called in for the siege of Herat, had arrived and added to his strength. Mashhad at this time was in a state of anarchy. The blind Shah Rukh was a nonentity. His faithful and energetic general, Yusuf Ali, who had marched for the relief of Herat and hurried back to the assistance of his master, had also been overpowered and blinded by Mir Alam Khan. Mir Alam was at this time the master of Mashhad, and he was preparing to besiege Nishapur when he heard of the fall of Herat into the hands of Ahmad Shah and of his march against Mashhad. He suspended his activities at Nishapur and hurried down to Mashhad to meet the advancing Afghans. He repaired the fortifications, provisioned the place, and, after having confided the defence to the inhabitants, whom he believed he could trust, he marched out of Mashhad, determined to pounce upon Herat, if possible.

Ahmad Shah detailed an advance army of five thousand selected Afghans under the command of Jahan Khan Popalzei, assisted by Mir Naseer Khan, chief of Kalat, in Baluchistan, to march against Mashhad. On arriving at Turbat-i-Shaikh Jam, Jahan Khan sprang a surprise upon Mir Alam Khan by attacking him. Recovering from the first shock, Mir Alam hit back with great intrepidity and pushed back the Durranis. But the position was soon retrieved by a bold attack of Mir Naseer Khan of Kalat, who charged the Persians with his

three thousand horse and drove them away. Mir Alam was killed in the battle and his army was cut to pieces.[1]

CAPTURE OF NUN BY SHAH

Ahmad Shah soon arrived at this place with the remaining army and moved towards Mashhad at the head of a large force. The next place of importance was the fort of Nun which was then held by Mir Masum Khan, brother of Mir Alam. He had only a small garrison, but, trusting that his brother would be able to send him reinforcements in time, he had strengthened his fortifications. Ahmad Shah besieged the fort, but it could not hold out for long. Masum Khan lost all hope of resistance on the receipt of the news of his brother's death and sued for peace. The Shah invited him to his presence. The Mir presented to him the keys of the fort and surrendered.

SHAH RUKH SURRENDERED TO AHMAD SHAH

The Shah then moved to Mashhad and laid siege to it. It was desperately defended by the Persians and several Afghan attacks were repulsed. But the Afghans tightened the blockade and reduced the city to despair. Shah Rukh at last came out to meet the besieger. The Durrani Shah received him kindly and agreed to retain him on the throne of Mashhad under his own suzerainty on the condition that he paid a large sum of money and released and made over to him all the members of his (Durrani's) family who had,

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1. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 128; Ferrier, 75; Sykes, *History of Persia*, 371-72; *History of Afghanistan*, 356. According to Ferrier, 'Mir Alam immediately gave up the idea of keeping Meshed and retired in the direction of Ghain to his tribe' But as we do not hear of Mir Alam Khan again and as it cannot be easily believed that such a man as Mir Alam could have retired to an unknown ascetic life, I have followed Sykes, who says that Mir Alam 'was defeated and killed'. Cf. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 85 Ferrier (p. 75) and Sykes (*History of Afghanistan*, 356) have placed Prince Taimur (son of Ahmad Shah), a boy under five, in command of the advance army. I have followed the *Tarikh-i-Sultani*. According to the last mentioned authority it was the army commanded by Shah Rukh Mirza himself that was surprised and defeated by Jahan Khan and Naseer Khan; and Jahan Khan had gone back to Herat to convey to him the news of the victory.

since Nadir's death, been in his (Shah Rukh's) hands as captives. Nothing could be more welcome to Shah Rukh and he readily agreed to the terms dictated by the Shah.[2]

SHAH PASAND KHAN SENT TO MAZANDARAN

While the Shah was settling the affairs of Khurasan, Muhammad Husain Kajar, son of Fateh Ali Khan, had established himself at Astrabad, a town situated on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, which had, for long, been the residence of his family, and the whole of Mazandaran had submitted to his authority. Fearing lest the future enterprise of Muhammad Husain should disturb his arrangements in Khurasan, the Shah detailed a division of Afghans under the command of Shah Pasand Khan to attack Mazandaran, while he himself marched to Nishapur with the main army.

SIEGE OF NISHAPUR

The district of Nishapur was then governed by one Jafar Khan, while the fort at the headquarters was under the command of Abbas Quli Khan, son of Hasan Khan Bayat, on behalf of Shah Rukh. Abbas Quli Khan refused to surrender the fort. He had a garrison of only two thousand horse. He consulted his paternal uncle, Haji Saif-ud-Din Khan, who advised him to hold on at least up to winter when the fall of snow and excessive cold would drive the Afghans away. Determined to offer stout resistance, the nephew and the uncle, ostensibly disagreeing with each other, began a double game with the Shah, who was easily duped into inaction. While Abbas Quli was strengthening the defences of the city, Saif-ud-Din, with a view to gaining time, entered into negotiations with the Shah and wrote a letter to him saying that, as for himself, he had "laid down his arms on the very day

2. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 128-9; Sykes, *Afghanistan*, 356; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 287. Ferrier, in his *History of the Afghans*, 76, gives lengthy details of the resistance of Mashhad, and of the harassing activities of Nasrullah Mirza and Nasir Mirza, the two sons of Shah Rukh, and the support given by Mamish Khan against Ahmad Shah. But they all belong to a later period. At this time Shah Rukh was only a boy of sixteen, having been born in March, 1734.

that Ahmad Shah arrived, but that it would require some time before he could overcome the obstinacy of Abbas Quli Khan, who had decided upon fighting". Believing in the sincerity of the old Haji, the Shah was satisfied by simply investing the place. He could not see through the game. The Haji negotiated and temporized for such a long time that the deadly winter of Nishapur with all its rigours set in before the Afghans had opened their trenches. The heavy fall of snow and the dwindling supply of provisions reduced them to extremities and it became impossible for them to continue the siege without any shelter.

Intelligence at this time arrived that the Shah's division under Shah Pasand Khan had suffered a defeat at Mazinan and had been practically annihilated by the Persians. Hearing of the advance of Shah Pasand Khan against Mazandaran, Muhammad Hussain Kajar had detailed Isa Khan Kurd and Hasan Khan Kajar to meet him on the way to check his advance. A battle took place on the plain of Mazinan and Shah Pasand Khan was worsted with a heavy loss. It was also feared that the Khans of Khurasan might attack him from without. Ahmad Shah, at last, decided to deliver an assault. He pushed forward his guns and opened fire upon the fortifications. An opening was made on the northern side of the city. But before the Afghans could enter it, it was all dark. During the night the defenders assembled at the breach, dug deep wells in the opening, covered them with sticks, straws and rubbish and manned it with sufficient numbers to hold back the Afghans. As expected, the Afghans rushed at the breach early in the morning and hundreds of them fell into the wells. The defenders then opened fire upon them. The fighting continued throughout the day. Late in the afternoon, a few Afghans captured the towers near the breach. Ahmad Shah then sent forward two hundred camelmen with swivels to reinforce them. The Persians received them with artillery fire. At this time Jafar Khan, the governor, was killed by a shot and drops of his blood fell on the head and face of Abbas Quli Khan. Although a boy of eighteen, Abbas Quli behaved like a seasoned soldier. He calmly finished his prayers and then rushed to the spot where Jafar Khan lay dead. He encouraged the Persian fighters

and detailed some selected men for the relief of the towers. The Afghans were dislodged. Most of them were cut to pieces, while the remaining were thrown into the wells. The day closed with a very heavy loss to the Afghans, estimated at about twelve thousand men.

THE SIEGE FAILS—THE SHAH RETURNS TO HERAT

Ahmad Shah was still in suspense as to his future plans when intelligence arrived that some Khans of Khurasan had assembled a large force and were coming to the relief of Nishapur. The Shah prepared to meet them, and, while he was engaged with them, a vigorous sally was made from the city. This two-sided attack on the exhausted and cold-stricken Afghans completely bewildered them and Ahmad Shah was compelled to retreat in haste. Tents, baggage, ammunition and artillery had all to be abandoned. The guns were spiked and many other things were destroyed. A large number of men and baggage-animals died on the way. "Such was the intensity of cold," says Ferrier, "that at the halt made at Kiaffar Kaleh, 18,000 of Ahmad's soldiers died in one night, and on the following day very nearly the same number perished in attempting the passage of the Heri-rood, near the town of Kussan. The river was frozen, but it gave way under the crowd of fugitives, who were swallowed up in the icy waters." It is stated, on the authority of Sardar Jumme Khan, who held a command in this expedition and who has left a small sketch of it, that to save himself from the severity of cold and from consequent death he had to disembowel his camels in the inside of which he, enveloped in a blanket, took up his quarters at night, passing from one to another as it got cold, once killing for this purpose as many as seventeen animals between sunset and sunrise. The severities of the weather told so heavily on the force of Ahmad Shah that, on their arrival at Herat, the remnants looked more like skeletons than soldiers.[3]

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3. *Mujmil*, 84-90; 94-6; *Tarikh-i-Sultani* 128-9; Ferrier, 77-8; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 287; Malleson 281-82; Malcolm's *History of Persia* (edited by M. H Court, Lahore, 1888), 41.

PRINCE TAIMUR LEFT AT HERAT

On his arrival at Herat, Ahmad Shah found that the governor, Darwesh Ali Khan, was hatching a plot against his person with a view to raising himself to power on the ruins of the Durrani house. He found it dangerous to leave him free at Herat during his own absence at Qandahar, where he proposed going as early as possible. He, therefore, ordered Darwesh Ali Khan to be arrested and thrown into prison, and appointed his own son, Taimur Mirza, in his place. He then left for Qandahar where he arrived in the beginning of the year 1750.[4]

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE PANJAB

Preparations for raising a fresh army were begun in right earnest. As no money had been received from Mir Mannu and as the Shah was in urgent need of funds, he deputed his Diwan, Raja Sukh Jiwan, to Lahore to realize from him the revenue of the four *Mahal.* These *Mahal,* as we know, had been placed under the administration of Nawab Nasir Khan, the ex-governor of Kabul. The Nawab proved ungrateful and soon allied himself with the enemies of Mir Mannu in Delhi. The prime minister, Safdar Jang, was eagerly looking for an opportunity to reduce the power of the governor of Lahore and Multan. He found ready tools in the persons of Nasir Khan and Shah Nawaz Khan, the ex-fugitive governor of Lahore, who was then in Delhi. Shah Nawaz Khan was given the *sanad* of the governorship of Multan and was sent to that province to take possession of it by force. On the other hand, Nasir Khan, the administrator of the Mahal assigned to Ahmad Shah, was instigated to raise troops at Sialkot and to snatch, whenever possible, the province of Lahore from Mir Mannu. Mannu forestalled Nasir Khan's intentions and tried to bring him round to the path of friendship. But Nasir was prepared for war, and Mannu had to meet him on his own ground. He was more of a boaster than a soldier and fled from the field of action in the very first contest. As Nasir Khan had squandered the

4. *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 130; Ferrier, 78.

revenue of the Mahal in his military preparations, it was difficult for Mir Mannu to make good the entire loss from his own treasury and to pay in full the promised amount to Ahmad Shah.[5]

Raja Sukh Jiwan, says Khushwaqt Rai, used some harsh words at the time of his visit to Lahore for the realization of the dues. They hurt the feelings of the Nawab and his minister Kaura Mall, who said, "How long shall we go on paying revenue to the Durrani? We are not weaker in strength. After all he is the same Ahmad Shah who was once defeated by my master, the Nawab." At this, Adina Beg intervened and said, "Whatever was agreed upon two years ago should be fulfilled for at least a few years (*Do char sal*)." Sukh Jiwan was paid a small amount and he returned to his country.[6] This seems to have happened towards the close of 1750.

THE SHAH MARCHES UPON NISHAPUR AGAIN

Recovering from the reverses he had suffered and raising a strong fresh army, Ahmad Shah moved out of Qandahar, early in 1751, to wipe out the disgrace of his last defeat in Khurasan. He knew that in the first siege it was the absence of heavy siege-guns that was mostly responsible for his discomfiture. He, therefore, ordered all his cavalry-soldiers to carry about twelve pounds each of cast metal for gun and shot to be delivered at the destination.

SIEGE LAID

Without waiting to invest Mashhad to punish its people for the irritation they had caused him during the last campaign, he pushed on to Nishapur. The city was blockaded on all sides and its siege was pressed with great energy. The first month was spent in casting a gun on the spot and in boring and mounting it on its carriage. It was a heavy piece, capable of throwing a projectile weighing about six Indian maunds, or 472 English pounds.

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5. *Tahmas Namah*, B. 5-8, *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 242-8, *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 212-15

6. *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, 69.

Abbas Quli Khan, the hero of the last campaign, was not so happily circumstanced this time. His greatest difficulty was the provisions. Ever since the siege, laid by Mir Alam Khan, followed by that of the Shah, there had been no crops and it was impossible to stand a siege for any length of time without laying in sufficient provisions. The Shah, on the other hand, had brought ample stores and sent out parties to collect more grain and fodder to replenish his stock.

When his new gun was ready for action, it was brought into operation, and its very first shot—which also happened to be the last—produced such a terrible effect that it pierced through a large number of houses and reduced them to heaps of ruins. This destruction created a feeling of terror in the minds of the citizens of Nishapur. In their ignorance of the fact that the gun had burst and could do no further harm, they sent several of their chiefs to the Shah to inform him of their willingness to surrender. Abbas Quli Khan, who commanded the fort, however, refused to recognize the surrender of these chiefs and attacked the Afghans the moment they were about to enter the city. But he was pushed back with heavy loss and was ultimately reduced to the alternative of presenting himself personally as a suppliant before the Shah and begging his clemency. The Shah detained him in his camp as a prisoner of war, treated him with all the respect due to a brave soldier, and, on his return from Khurasan, took him along to Qandahar.

THE SACK OF NISHAPUR

Ibn Muhammad Amin Gulistani tells us that the Shah was burning with rage against the citizens of Nishapur. Through the Afghan prime minister, Shah Wali Khan, Abbas Quli Khan offered to surrender the fort to the Shah provided he agreed to spare the lives and property of the inhabitants of the city. He was willing to spare their lives, said the Shah, on the condition that all of them walked empty-handed carrying no property whatever into the Jame Masjid; if any one of them was found in possession of even a small needle, he ran the risk of being put to death by the *ghazis*. With tears in their eyes and bewailing and crying in their helplessness, the inhabitants obeyed the conqueror's orders. The city

south-west. They began by devastating the country and creating a panic among the people, after which they marched against the governor of Tabbas, Ali Murad Khan, who came out to meet them. The Afghans and the Persians came into contact at *Kakhk*, to the north-east of Toon (Firdaus) and there was fought 'one of the most obstinate and bloody battles that are to be found in the annals of Persian history'. The arrival of Ali Murad Khan to take part in the fighting added to the tenacity and fury of the combatants. When ammunition failed on both sides, they drew their swords and grappled with one another. The contest was hard and both sides were hoping for victory, when, all of a sudden, Ali Murad Khan was killed and the day was decided in favour of the Afghans. The remaining army of Ali Murad Khan took to flight and Toon and Tabbas fell into the hands of the Afghans. Most of the credit for this victory goes to Mir Naseer Khan and his Baluchis, who all fought like heroes. In addition to the fire and sword that had their fullest play, the towns were pillaged and devastated, and the Afghans, laden with rich booty, returned to the Shah at Mashhad.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN PERSIA

The defenders of Mashhad were still holding out against the Shah, and, as it appeared from outside, there was no immediate prospect of its fall. But the provisions were running short and there was no hope of replenishment. The country around was in the hands of the Afghans. The successes of the Shah and his generals in the west and the south had removed all possibilities of succour from any quarter. The great Persian empire had been broken into pieces. The province of Mazandaran, as we know, was usurped by Muhammad Husain Khan Kajar. It is true that his army had defeated the Durrani general, Shah Pasand Khan, when the latter advanced to attack that province. But there was no love lost between Shah Rukh and Muhammad Husain Khan, who was trying to raise his own structure on the ruins of Shah Rukh's heritage. Gilan had declared itself independent under one of its own chiefs, Hidayat Khan, and Azarbaijan had been taken possession of by one of Nadir Shah's generals Azad Khan Afghan. The attitude of Georgia under a Chris-

tian prince, Heraclius, bordered on defiance of the Muhammadan rulers. This was the state of affairs in the northern provinces. About the central government at Isfahan, the less said the better. There was a triangular contest going on between Ali Mardan Khan, a Bakhtiari chief, Karim Khan of the Zand tribe and Azad Khan Afghan. None of the upstart claimants could be favourably disposed towards a descendant of the late Emperor Nadir Shah. In Yazad and Kirman, there was no friendly chief of importance who could be relied upon for any material assistance.

SHAH RUKH SUES FOR PEACE,

Under these circumstances it was impossible for the blind Shah Rukh to continue the struggle against Ahmad Shah Durrani, who had, within the last three and a half years, created and consolidated a strong kingdom of Afghanistan, rich with the potentialities of the warlike Afghans, with a unique military genius and born soldier at their head. He had, therefore, the only alternative of suing for peace, which the Shah was pleased to grant. According to Ibn Muhammad Amin Gulistani, whose statements in some respects have to be accepted rather cautiously on account of his pro-Shia bias, Ahmad Shah had expressed a desire to visit the holy shrine of Imam Ali Riza, and, in reply thereto, Shah Rukh had sent word to him, saying that he would like to meet him before the Shah came for the pilgrimage. On the following day, accompanied by a few servants of the state, Shah Rukh came out to offer his submission.

The Shah received him with all the honour due to his station, seated him on the same *masnad* as himself, and the negotiations began with perfect cordiality. It was ultimately agreed upon that Shah Rukh should, as usual, acknowledge the suzerainty of Ahmad Shah, who would leave him on his own behalf in possession of Khurasan, protect him from external enemies and support him against the ambitious chiefs of the provinces. It was further stipulated that money should be coined in the name of Ahmad Shah and the *farmans* and other official documents should bear his seal, and that the districts of Turbat-i-Shaikh Jam, Bakharz, Turbat-i-Haidari and Khaf be made over to him. As, in the opinion of the Shah, the

chiefs of Khurasan had played false to Shah Rukh, he proposed to leave in Mashhad a *Sardar* of his own, Nur Muhammad Khan, to help him in the administration of this newly constituted state of Khurasan and to maintain peace on its frontiers. A treaty was drawn up on this basis and was signed by both the parties. The next day Ahmad Shah and Shah Rukh rode together to the city and visited the sacred mausoleum of Imam Ali Riza. To complete all formalities, the *khutba* was read and coin struck in his name. Thinking that the state of Khurasan that he had thus set up was a strong bulwark against the ambitious projects of any refractory chief, and particularly of Azad Khan Afghan, the Shah returned to Herat.[9]

MALCOLM ADMIRES THE WISDOM OF AHMAD SHAH

"Ahmad Khan [Shah Durrani] was at this period," says Sir John Malcolm, "in a condition to attempt the reduction of all Persia, but the prospect was not inviting. The Afghans were still deemed the original authors of the misery that its inhabitants endured, and the unsuccesssful attempt which had been made to alter the religion of the country, had revived, in all their vigour, those sentiments of hatred, which the Persians entertained for the race of the Sunnis. In addition to these obstacles, the example of usurpation, which Nadir Shah had given, had inspired every governor of a province and every chief of a tribe with the desire of rule, and Persia abounded with pretenders to regal power. Under such circumstances, we must admire the wisdom, which led the Afghan prince to withdraw from this scene of turbulence,

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9. *Mujmil*, 90-1; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 130-31; *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya*, 128-30; Ferrier, 80-81; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 40-1; Sykes, *History of Persia*, 372-4.

Finding his resources diminishing, says Ferrier, 80-1, the Shah had sent a detachment of 2,000 horse in the direction of Sabzawar and Shah Rood Bostan They had succeeded in the enterprise and were returning with 2500 beasts laden with plunder, when, at the halt of Abbasabad, some fifteen hundred Kajar horsemen fell upon them unawares and completely routed them. The Afghans lost about one thousand of their men as dead and prisoners, with all the convoy; the survivors, who returned unhurt, numbered scarcely a thousand.

so that he might exclusively direct his future exertions to the noble, and more legitimate object of establishing a power in his native country, which, while it gave a crown to his descendants, raised his nation to a rank and consideration far beyond what they had ever enjoyed. It is recorded in a Persian manuscript that Ahmad Khan, before he left Khurasan, assembled the principal chiefs, and proposed that the province, which gave birth to Nadir, should be separated from Persia and converted into a principality for his grandson, Shah Rukh. They all agreed, and promised continued allegiance. Ahmad Khan became the guarantor of the independence of Khurasan, which, he justly concluded, would hereafter form a strong barrier to guard his dominions from the ambitions of whatever ruler might succeed in obtaining the crown of Persia."[10]

OTHER SUCCESSES

With Herat as a base depot, he sent one of his ministers, Begi Khan (Shah Wali Khan), with a strong force to subdue the countries to the north-east, in the direction of the Amu Darya (the river Oxus), inhabited by Uzbaks, Hazaras and other Afghan tribes who had not yet acknowledged his dominion. Success attended his arms and he seized Maimana, Andkhui, Shibarghan, Akcheh, Sar-i-Pul, Balkh and Khuram without any serious opposition. But he did not stop here. He also secured the submission of Badakhshan and other districts north of the Hindu-Kush, and of Bamian to the west of Kabul, giving to the kingdom the geographical entity which it retains to this day. Having integrated and consolidated the conquered territories and placed them under trusted governors, Begi Khan returned to Qandahar, where the Shah had already arrived. The monarch was highly pleased with the meritorious services Shah Wali had rendered to his country and, in appreciation thereof, he conferred upon him the additional title of *Sadr-i-Azam* and granted him rich tracts of land in Gulbahar.[11]

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10. *History of Persia,* 40.
11. Ferrier, 81; Sykes, *History of Afghanistan,* 357; Ghubar, *Ahmad Shah Baba,* 213-14.

The Shah, as we know, had taken Abbas Quli Khan of Nishapur along with him. His admiration for his bravery, spirit of independence and frankness of disposition developed into personal attachment, and, thinking that he could confide in him, the Shah was pleased to accept the hand of his sister in marriage and gave one of his own daughters to his eldest son. Having thus closely united the two families, the Shah bestowed upon Abbas Quli Khan the governorship of Nishapur and sent him back to his home.[12]

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12. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 77. According to Ferrier, "the Afghan conqueror, having perceived in this Chief very considerable talents and a frankness of disposition, in which he thought he could confide, gave him his sister in marriage; he also bestowed one of his daughters on Abbas Kooli's son, after which he sent him back to Nishapur, as governor of that city." p 80.

Chapter X

THE THIRD INVASION OF INDIA

THE CONQUEST OF THE PANJAB AND KASHMIR

THE CHAHAR MAHAL

The Shah was now free to turn his attention to the Panjab. By the settlement of 1749, the revenue of the four districts of Sialkot, Aurangabad, Pasrur and Gujrat, assessed at fourteen lakhs a year, had been assigned to the Shah, but no regular payments had been received. At the end of the first year, Raja Sukh Jiwan had been sent to Lahore to realize the dues. He had returned home with only a nominal payment. It is true that there had been internal dissensions in the country and that Nawab Nasir Khan, the administrator of these *Chahar Mahal*, had rebelled against the governor, squandered most of the revenue on his military preparations and carried away the rest. But this was only for the first half of the year. For the next two harvests, the collection had been made by the agents of Mir Muin-ul-Mulk himself. Moreover, the responsibility for the loss suffered on account of the defection of Nasir Khan was also of the Lahore government. As it was not the actual possession, or the government, of the districts that had been made over to the Shah, and as Nasir Khan was neither a servant nor a nominee of his, no liability for the loss due exclusively to local causes could be thrown on him. Whatever the pretexts, the real cause of the non-payment of the Shah's dues was a change in the intentions of Muin-ul-Mulk, brought about either by the discomfiture of the Shah in Khurasan or by the patriotic feelings of Kaura Mall.[1]

ENVOY HARUN KHAN AT LAHORE

Soon after the rainy season, the Shah left Qandahar for Kabul from where he despatched an advance army under

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1. *Tahmas Namah*, B. 5-6; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 29a; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 213-5; Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, 69.

Jahan Khan and Abd-us-Samad Khan to march upon the Panjab. He, however, wished to make another attempt at reconciliation and sent Harun Khan as an envoy to Lahore to collect the arrears. Harun Khan arrived in the neighbourhood of Lahore on the 3rd of October, 1751 (the 24th of Zi-qada, 1164 A.H.), and, on reaching the city, was lodged in the Serai Hakeem, opposite the mosque, in the Mohranwala Katra, inside the Masti Gate near the fort. He had an interview with the governor, Nawab Mum-ul-Mulk, about the 10th of October, and impressed upon him the desirability of making an immediate payment of the dues. Mum delayed the conclusion of negotiations to gain time for the arrival of Kaura Mall, whom he had summoned from Multan. On the arrival of Kaura Mall about the middle of November, Harun Khan was told that there was no possibility of any payment and that they were ready to receive the Shah with shot and shell. He was, however, detained by Muin-ul-Mulk in Lahore. Harun Khan was startled to see the army and war materials of Kaura Mall and the military preparations at Lahore.[2]

THE SHAH MARCHES TO LAHORE

Leaving Kabul on or about the 12th of Zi-qada, 1164 A.H., September 21, 1751, the Shah had arrived at Peshawar and was perhaps waiting for the conclusion of Harun Khan's negotiations. According to a newsletter of the 6th of December, 1751, from Delhi, the Shah was at Peshawar on the 11th of Muharram, 1165, November 19, 1751, while Jahan Khan had moved from Attock to Rohtas.[3]

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2. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar (Persian), Miscellaneous Papers,* 3, 5, letter No. 1271, October 10, 1751; No. 1930, Oct. 20, 1751; Sohan Lal, *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* 132-3.

3. The author of the *Ahmad Shah Baba* (pp. 215-6) tells us that when the Shah arrived at Peshawar he detailed an army of two thousand under the command of Ishak Aqasi Abdullah Khan for the conquest of Kashmir. But the histories of Kashmir and Panjab, which appear to be more reliable on this point, place the Kashmir campaign after the submission of Mir Mannu.

MANNU'S PREPARATIONS AT LAHORE

The news of the Shah's march from Kabul created a panic in the city of Lahore and the people made up their minds to fly away to places of shelter. Muin-ul-Mulk had begun his preparations much earlier, in fact as early as the close of 1750, when Raja Sukh Jiwan had left Lahore on his way back to Qandahar. Now finding that the Shah's advance army under Jahan Khan had already entered his territory and that the Shah was not very far off, he carried on with his plans with greater vigour. He recruited a large number of new men, including two hundred horsemen who had come from Kashmir with Mahdi Quli Khan (a relation of the *Subedar* Afra-Siyab Beg Khan) and Shams-ud-Din *Yasawal.* Mahdi Ali Khan and Adina Beg Khan had come from Sialkot and the Jullundur Doab respectively. Kaura Mall had also arrived from Multan and was getting in touch with the Sikhs with a view to enlisting their support.[4]

Muin-ul-Mulk had been the worst enemy of the Sikhs. But Kaura Mall being a Sikh himself—though not a *Singh* —had been successful in securing their help against Shah Nawaz Khan in Multan. Now again he won them over to his side, and about thirty thousand of them—the number seems to be very much inflated—marched from Amritsar to join him at Waniyeke. But they quarrelled among themselves and some ten thousand of them—of the Bhangi confederacy—went back. Those who remained with Kaura Mall were under the command of Sardars Sangat Singh and Sukha Singh of Mari Kambo.[5]

NEGOTIATIONS

From the frontier Ahmad Shah sent a message to Mir Muin-ul-Mulk at Lahore saying, 'It had been agreed upon that the revenue of the four *mahal* assigned to Kabul would

4. SPD (Persian), 5, No 1930 of Oct 20, 1751; 6-7, No. 1942 of Nov. 16, 1751; ii, No 1952, of Dec 6, 1751; Khushwaqt Rai, 69; *Tarikh-i-Ali,* 218-19; *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* 141.

5. Ratan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Prakash,* 407-9; Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash,* 694-6; Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Kaura Mall Bahadur,* 100-1

be regularly remitted. Nothing has been sent so far. This faithlessness has come from your side. That is why I have come here. You had better send to me twenty-four lakhs of rupees on account of three years' dues, so that I may go back.' But Muin thought that he was strong enough to meet the Durrani in battle. He, therefore, replied, 'Nasir Khan has run away with two years' revenue and has misbehaved towards me. Only one year's revenue is due from me. If that is your object, say that, so that I may send the money to you. If you want to fight, I am also ready.'[6]

THE SHAH ADVANCES TOWARDS LAHORE

The Shah was on the other side of the Indus and was intending to cross over, when Muin-ul-Mulk sent him nine lakhs of rupees. The Shah received the money but, as it was not in full settlement of his account, he continued his march. Sardar Jahan Khan then made a rush from Rohtas, crossed the Jhelum and the Chanab and arrived, all of a sudden, near Emnabad about the 23rd-24th Muharram, 1165, December 1-2, 1751. The Shah followed him soon after and passing through Rohtas, Gujrat and Sohdara encamped at the village of Kotla Sayyadan, near Wazirabad, on or about the 26th of Muharram, December 4. On crossing the Jhelum the Shah, it may be mentioned, had ordered that Rohtas should not be sacked and had detailed Rahmat Khan for the protection of Sialkot.

Finding his preparations complete, Mir Muin-ul-Mulk, on the other hand, paid propitiatory visits to the mausoleums and tombs of the departed saints and to the *darveshs* and *pirzadas* of Lahore on the 21st of Muharram, November 29, and, on the following day, 22nd of Muharram, crossed the river Ravi and encamped at Sarai Balkhian, about four kos from Lahore. He appointed Iwaz Khan deputy governor of Lahore and sent the Begams—his mother, Sholapuri Begam, his wife, Murad Begam (also called Mughlani Begam) and his daughter Umda Begam and the other ladies of the family —to Jammu. The movements of the governor added to the

6. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 29a,

panic already prevailing in Lahore and the people fled to Delhi and to the hills in large numbers.[7]

TALKS WITH HARUN KHAN

Harun Khan, the Durrani envoy, as we know, had not been given his leave and was still with the camp of Mir Mannu at Sarai Balkhian up to the 4th of Safar, December 12. Mannu told him, 'Abdali has committed faithlessness [how, he does not say]. What sort of Musalmani is this? I have come out for the protection of my city.' Maharaja Kaura Mall then had some talk with the envoy, and the latter, after some discussion, sent some letters to Jahan Khan with two horsemen of Kaura Mall and one of his own. It was at this place that Sufi Shukrullah, a companion of Ghulam Muhammad, who had gone to Sardar Jahan Khan, returned to the camp of Mir Mannu with a Durrani envoy, Sultan Ali Khan.[8]

While Mir Mannu was encamped at Sarai Balkhian,[9] waiting for a contest with the Shah, the roving parties of the advance army under Jahan Khan ravaged the country between the Chanab and the Ravi. Not unoften, the advance bodies of the two armies came in contact with one another, and there was firing with guns and matchlocks, and the fighting continued for some time. But they were all petty skirmishes, and no pitched battle between the main armies took place to decide the issue

7. SPD (Persian), 12, No 1954, Dec. 10, 1751, No 1955, Dec. 12, 1751; 13, No. 1206, Dec 14, 1751, 14, No. 2284, Dec 20, 1751; *Tahmas Namah*, B. 10; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 29a-b (Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 122).

8 SPD (Persian), 14-15, No 2284, Dec 20, 1751

9. Tahmas Khan (*Tahmas Namah*, B 13) tells us that Mir Mannu had gone as far as Pul-i-Shah Daula on the Chanab to meet Ahmad Shah The day-to-day news from the camp of Mir Mannu (*Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Persian, *Miscellaneous Papers*, 4-15) decisively contradict this statement Mannu was still visiting the mausoleums and tombs of saints (Nov 29) when the advanced army of the Shah under Jahan Khan crossed the Chanab and was marching to Eminabad where it arrived on December 1-2 The Shah himself crossed the river in about a couple of days and was reported to have arrived and encamped at the village of Kotla Sayyadan on, if not before, December 4. *Vide* SPD No 1954 1955, 1206, Dec 10, 12, 14 (pp.

THE SHAH CROSSES THE RAVI

The Shah then hit upon a plan and made a daring move. To avoid his movements being watched, he left his camp standing as it was, and made a wide detour to the right and quietly crossed the river Ravi towards the middle of January, 1752, at the ferry of Ghazipur and entered the village of Hinjarwal via Niaz Beg. From Hinjarwal he moved to the east of Lahore and encamped to the north-east of the Shalamar Garden, with his armies spreading out up to Shah Balwal and Mahmud Buti. Jahan Khan, on the other hand, marched slowly upon the city by the direct route.

On receipt of the information that the Shah had crossed the Ravi and had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lahore, Muin-ul-Mulk hurried back to the city. Jahan Khan at this time rushed to a northern ferry and, crossing the river, occupied the Faiz Bagh with a force of ten thousand horse. Fixing his camp at the Raj-Ghat (ferry), Muin deputed Khwajah Mirza Jan, Ismail Khan and some other Sardars to dislodge Jahan Khan from the Faiz Bagh. Mirza Jan was successful in forcing Jahan Khan to evacuate the garden and the latter occupied a position near the Shah's camp on the side of the Shalamar.[10]

12-13) Cf. *Farhat-un-Nazirin*, E & D VIII, 167, *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 218-9, *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya*, 140-7, *Husain Shahi*, 24-25, Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 242, Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, 70

The author of the *Umda-tu-Tawarikh* tells us (*Daftar* i. 133) that when Mannu asked Kaura Mall's advice regarding the measures for defence, the latter said, 'If arrangements had been made before the arrival of Ahmad Shah, he should have been opposed on the Indus, the Jhelum or the Chanab, but now that he had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lahore, he should be opposed on the other side of the Ravi, with strong entrenchments near Sarai Balkhian Mir Mannu accepted the advice and acted accordingly Sarai Balkhian (Balkhee in the Map Sheet No 30) is situated at a distance of about four miles to the north-east of Shahdara and about a mile to the west of the village Dandian

10 *Tahmas Namah*, B. 14, *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 133 This was reported to the Emperor at Delhi as a victory of Mir Mum-ul-Mulk. "But this was no victory," says the author of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 31b. "In the same way," he continues, 'Jahan Khan, the Durrani Commander-in-Chief, on one occasion marched upon Lahore with a large force, but the defenders of the fort and residents of the city

Sardar Ratan Singh Bhangu, author of the *Prachin Panth Prakash,* gives, at this stage, an interesting account of a skirmish that the Sikhs had with a party of the Afghans on the northern bank of the Ravi. On his arrival at the city from the governor's camp, Kaura Mall made over the defence of the Yaki Gate to the Sikhs. Towards the afternoon Sardar Sukha Singh of Mari Kambo, the commander of the Sikh detachment, crossed the Ravi with a few Sikhs, including a number of the Nihangs. Unmindful of the presence of an Afghan force there, the Sikhs left their boats and entered the bushes. Hearing the noise of the Sikhs, the Durrani commander (Jahan Khan or some other officer) sent four troops of cavalry to attack them. The Sikhs had not come to fight and were not prepared for the attack. Sukha Singh, however, rallied his men and made a bold dash at the Afghan troopers. But it was impossible for them to stand against the vastly superior number of the Afghans who pushed them back into the river. Sukha Singh was under the impression that the Shah himself was commanding these troops. He, therefore, made desperate attempts to get at him. But the Shah was not there and Sukha Singh was killed in his unsuccessful efforts. The Sikhs then took to their boats and returned to the city. But there they were received with fire from the city walls, apparently under some misunderstanding. The Sikhs were disgusted with the people of Lahore, for whose defence they had come there, and a large number of them left for their *dera* in the *Majha.*[11]

THE WAR BEGINS

Muin-ul-Mulk crossed the Ravi at night after Jahan Khan had withdrawn from the Faiz Bagh, and took up an

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fired at them with their guns and muskets and flung stones at them. The Abdalis turned their faces and went away. It was at this time bruited about that Jahan Khan had been killed. But it was a false rumour."

11. Ratan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash,* 407-11; Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash,* 693-99; *Shamsher Khalsa,* 474-75. According to Gian Singh, Sukha Singh was killed in the battle of Mahmud Buti. But I have followed Ratan Singh who, I think, is more reliable. His father and uncle-in-law (the husband of his father's sister) were present on this occasion.

entrenched position outside Lahore. At about ten o'clock in the morning, a body of the Afghans attacked a foraging party of the Lahore governor. Sayyad Jamil-ud-Din Khan, Adina Beg Khan, Mahdi Ali and Kaura Mall rode out to give them battle. Exchange of arrows and musket-fire continued for about three hours. The Afghans at last returned to their camp unpursued. They carried away ten of the Mir's men as prisoners, while seven of them fell into the defenders' hands. The city was then surrounded with trenches for several miles and its approaches were guarded by strong posts. The trenches of Mir Mannu, says Sohan Lal, the author of the *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* spread over a wide area of about twelve *kos.* "Reliable old men of the city tell us," continues he, "that the neighbourhood of Lahore was then full of beautiful gardens and orchards, reminding them of the old grandeur of the capital, but they were all cut down for the purpose of entrenchments; and from Hazrat Ishan in the east to Kotli Shah in the south (with the river Ravi to the north and the west) the green gardens were converted into dry and dusty lands, studded with trenches all over." In the absence of heavy guns, Ahmad Shah found it extremely difficult to storm the city or run the risk of a general action. Muin, on the other side, was deficient in a strong mobile force and could not rally out to engage the Afghans in the open. The war was thus reduced to a stalemate. The Shah, however, did not sit idle. He consulted his chiefs and decided upon ravaging the country all around. Detachments of Afghans went out and devastated the villages within a radius of forty *kos.* Muin also sent out his parties in pursuit of the Afghans, and, as Tahmas Khan tells us, one or two captives with their horses were daily carried to the presence of Mannu. "But, as a result of the devastations, there was not a lamp-light to be seen for a distance of three marches and grain became extremely dear."[12] *Ata* was sold at the rate of two (Lahore) seers for a rupee, while grass, hay and *bhusa* were not to be had even at that rate. Fodder became

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12 *Tahmas Namah,* B 14 *Farhat-un-Nazirin,* E. & D viii. 167; *Tarikh-i-Ali,* 219-20, *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* vol. i 133.

so scarce that houses and huts were pulled down to feed the horses and other animals on the thatch of their roofs.[13]

MANNU RECEIVES NO REINFORCEMENTS FROM DELHI

The state of suspense continued for over a month and a half.[14] Mir Mannu had, evidently, been expecting reinforcements from Delhi. On receipt of the news of Ahmad Shah's invasion, the Mughal Emperor repeatedly wrote personal notes to his Wazir to finish his expedition against Ahmad Khan Bangash and Sadullah Khan, son of Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhila, and return to the capital. But the prime minister, Safdar Jang, was an arch-enemy of Mir Mum-ul-Mulk. He would rather see him ruined than help him against the Durranis He, therefore, took no action and. after concluding the Ruhila campaign and making peace with Ahmad Khan Bangash and Sadullah Khan Ruhila, dismissed his Maratha allies and went to his own province of Oudh to settle its administrative affairs This criminal neglect of duty to the state at a time when a foreign enemy had already crossed the threshold and was threatening to take possession of an important portion of it, can only be explained by the fact that a general degeneracy of character had overtaken the Mughal nobles, who were interested more in the satisfaction of their

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13 Gian Singh. *Shamsher Khalsa,* 474-75; *Farhat-un-Nazirin,* E & D viii. 167; Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan,* 70-1, Prinsep, *Runjeet Singh,* 110

14. Hari Ram Gupta, in his *History of the Sikhs* (1739-68), says "The siege continued for four months" He has evidently followed the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* and *Tarikh-i-Muzzaffari* which tell us that Mum fought against Ahmad Shah for four months, and not that the *siege of Lahore* continued for four months *Tahmas Namah* also says, 'It is four months since the Musalmans on both sides are being killed' This refers to the duration of the campaign from the arrival of Ahmad Shah to his return. The *Husain Shahi,* 25, gives the period of the stay of the Shah at Lahore as a month and a half, and the *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* 145, 161, between one and two months. Khushwaqt Rai (*Tarikh-i-Sikhan,* 72) says that Ahmad Shah stayed at Lahore for forty days Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Fall of the Mughal Empire,* i 430) is right in saying that "evidently that period [of four months] covered the entire campaign" Cf *Jam-i-Jahan Nama,* 501b.

personal animosities than in the welfare of the empire or the nation as a whole.[15]

THE COUNCIL OF WAR AT LAHORE

Having lost all hope of reinforcement from Delhi, Mir Muin-ul-Mulk summoned a council of war to draw up a plan for military operations. But he was soon disillusioned to find that not only was the central government hopelessly negligent of its responsibilities, but his friends and supporters were also divided among themselves and were guided by no dissimilar motives. The wily Adina Beg Khan was jealous of the increasing power and importance of Kaura Mall and was looking forward to an opportunity of working his ruin and sabotaging his master with a view to securing to himself the governorship of Lahore. He was indecisive in his attitude and, along with Moman Khan of Kasur, wavered between war and peace. In the course of the discussions, Bhikari Khan advocated peace at all costs, while "Adina Beg gave it out as his opinion that as no succour or reinforcement could be expected from Delhi, an action ought to be risked before the provisions wholly failed as might be the case in a few days, if the blockade continued. Raja Kaura Mall was opposed to this advice; he observed that the viceroy's troops were mostly raw levies, who were no match in the field for the hardy veterans of the Shah, that the country for a wide space around had been foraged and wasted, and the distress for provisions was no less in the Durrani camp than in their own and that in twenty days more the hot weather would set in, when the northern troops of the Shah would find the sun and wind intolerable in the plains, and hence would be compelled to retreat or to attack them in their lines to their own disadvantage."

MANNU LAUNCHES THE ATTACK

The advice of Kaura Mall was certainly the wisest But the opinion of Adina Beg Khan was more in consonance with

15 *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 29b., E & D. viii, 121; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, i, 359-60. Ali-ud-Din's *Ibrat Namah*, 242, has confused Safdar Jang (Mir Muqim Mansur Ali Khan) with Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din (Shahab-ud-Din) who succeeded the former as prime minister in 1753.

the impetuous disposition of the youthful viceroy, who at once made up his mind to launch an attack on the following morning.[16] It was decided by the Lahoris to direct their whole attention to kill Jahan Khan, the veteran Afghan commander-in-chief, with whose death the Durranis, they thought, would take to their heels and fly away from the field of battle. Early in the morning, Mir Muin-ul-Mulk rode out with all his Sardars to lead the attack. *Madar-ul-Muham* Bhikari Khan, Mir Moman Khan and Khanjar Khan were given the command of the advance army. The left wing was placed under Adina Beg Khan and his officers, while the right was led by the Hindustani Sardars such as Syyad Jamil-ud-Din and Muhammad Khan. The rear was covered by Mahdi Ali Khan, Raja Behara Mall Bundela and Mir Amanullah Khan. Hearing of the threatening attack, the Shah also prepared to meet the enemy and set his army in motion. To oppose the Lahore advance army he sent forward Barkhurdar Khan *Diwan Begi* and Abdus Samad Khatak. The left flank was placed under Shah Wali Khan and other Durrani Sardars, while the rear was commanded by the Orakzei chiefs, Muhammad Saeed Khan and Allahyar Khan.

The battle began with the contact of the opposing advance armies and of the Afghan Right with the army of Adina Beg Khan. The Afghans, under Barkhurdar Khan and Abdus Samad Khan Khatak, successfully checked the progress of Bhikari Khan and others and pushed them back. Finding himself practically overpowered, he sent word to Mahdi Ali

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16. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 889, (Engl Trans. Cambray & Co., iii. 325-6); Prinsep, *Runjeet Singh*, 11-2, *History of the Panjab* (Allen & Co. 1846), i, 198-99.

The *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 31a, tells us that Adina Beg Khan, like Moman Khan, had no decisive opinion According to the *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 222, Adina Beg Khan like all other Sardars advocated peace while Kaura Mall ascribed their peaceful attitude to cowardice and counselled in favour of immediate action. I have followed Prinsep and the author of *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*. Muhammad Latif (*History of the Panjab*, 223) and Kanhaiya Lall (*Tarikhi-i-Panjab*, 75) have also accepted the same view. Cunningham (*History of the Sikhs*, 103) is of opinion that if Mannu had "remained on the defensive, the Abdalee might probably have been foiled".

Khan in the rear, imploring him to hasten to his assistance. The latter made over the command of the rear to his friends and hurried to the front with four hundred swivels (*Jazail*). This accidently turned the tables upon the Durranis. The first shot fired from one of these swivels, says Muhammad Saleh Qudrat, struck one of the plumed Afghan Sardars and, all of a sudden, fighting stopped on all the three sides. With the fall of night, the Durranis returned to their camp. The Shah then found it expedient to retire to a safer place to gain time for preparations, and fixed his camp at a distance of about twelve *kos* further up on the bank of the Ravi. At about eleven o'clock at night, Mir Mannu returned to his tents, beating drums of victory. On the following morning, seven swivels, seven *rahkalas*, a few mules, tents and other things fell into his hands.[17]

For ten days, Mir Mannu's men could find no trace of the Shah's army. It was on the eleventh day that he received the news of his whereabouts, when it was reported that he had been preparing for a fresh fight. But, in the meantime, the Shah, for reasons best known to him, sent Shah Ghulam Muhammad Faruqi *Pirzada*, the *Pir* of Sardar Jahan Khan, and *Mufti* Abdullah Peshawari to Muin-ul-Mulk with the ostensible object of negotiating peace. But the real object, perhaps, was either to lull Mir Mannu into inactivity and then take him unawares, or to obtain more authentic information about his resources and preparations. But Muin was not then in a mood for peace talks and decided to leave the fate of war to the arbitration of cold steel.[18]

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17. *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 221-22.

18 According to the *Tarikh-i-Ali*, the council of war, mentioned above, was held at this stage It is not improbable that Bhikari Khan's advice in favour of peace was given at this time when an actual move for it had been made by Ahmad Shah. I have placed the council before the above battle because, according to all other writers, it was held before any serious fighting took place in the neighbourhood of Lahore. But in view of such a detailed account of the war, as the *Tarikh-i-Ali* gives, its arrangement of events cannot be lightly ignored. It may also be suggested that this might have been a second council, wherein Kaura Mall, under changed circumstances, when Ahmad Shah's army had suffered a defeat, advocated immediate action, while Bhikari Khan and Adina Beg Khan pressed for peace.

THE LAST BATTLE

Early on the morning of Friday, the 1st of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1165 A.H., Chaitra Sudi (Shukla) 2, 1808 Bikrami, corresponding to March 6, 1752,[19] Mir Muin ordered the drums of war to be beaten and issued forth from his camp to attack the Durranis. He selected an eminence, the site of an old brick-kiln, to the north-east of the Shalamar garden, for his position and fixed his guns there. Adina Beg Khan, Moman Khan, Khanjar Khan Kabuli and Mir Nimat Khan commanded the right wing, while the left was led by Bhikari Khan, Sayyad Jamil-ud-Din Khan, Farid-ud-Din Khan and Khalat Muhammad Khan. The centre was held by Mir Muin himself and the rear was guarded by Mahdi Ali Khan, Raja Behara Mall Bundela and the hill-chiefs of Jammu, Jasrota, Kangra and Haripur. Kaura Mall commanded the army that was detailed to march against Sardar Jahan Khan. The Shah, in the meantime, had moved down towards Lahore along the river-bank and was encamped in the plains of the village of Mahmud Buti.

On receipt of the information that Muin-ul-Mulk had moved out of his trenches, the Shah rushed to the place a division of his army which entered the entrenchments and captured the guns. He then brought his camel swivels to the front and poured fire into the central army of Muin. This continued up to the afternoon The Shah so conducted the operations of the day that simultaneous attacks were launched on all the four sides of the enemy and it became impossible for him to concentrate on his defences. It may, however, be said to the credit of Mir Muin that he directed the movements of his men with a calm mind. He despatched three hundred swivels to Adina Beg Khan, three hundred to Kaura Mall and retained the remaining three hundred under

19 Khushwaqt Rai, in his *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, 70. gives Baisakh Wadi 1, 1808 Bikrami, as the date of this battle This corresponds to March 19, 1752 Prinsep (*Runjeet Singh*, 12), followed by Muhammad Latif (*History of the Panjab*, 223 *Lahore*, 76), says that the battle took place on the 12th of April, 1752. I have followed the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 31b, and the *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, 134. as the Hijri date of the former agrees with the Bikrami lunar reckoning of the latter.

Khwaja Mirza with himself in the centre. Observing some confusion in the enemy's army, the Shah ordered a division of his picked horsemen to deliver a forceful attack, which was so successful that Muin was pushed back to seek shelter in his trenches.[20]

At this stage, Adina Beg Khan suggested that Kaura Mall might be sent for along with a division of his army so that a concerted attack could be launched against the Durranis. Kaura Mall sent back a message to say that if he were to abandon his position against Jahan Khan, it might be misunderstood by his men and a confusion might arise in their ranks resulting in a rout. He was, however, surprised to receive, in return, more urgent orders to hasten to Muin's presence. Kaura Mall made over the command of his troops to his deputies, enjoined upon them to stick to their posts to the last and mounted his elephant to join his master. But he had hardly gone about a *kos* from his position, when he was informed that the Durranis had delivered an assault and that his wavering officers and men were giving way. He hurried back to his army and soon regained the lost position.[21] But ultimately he had to come away to see his master. Sayyad Jamil-ud-Din Khan, Qaim Ali Khan, Yaqut Khan *Khwaja Sera,* Kaura Mall and about five or six other officers were ordered to rush upon the Shah's forces. Mahdi Ali Khan reinforced these Sardars with his force. They had pushed back some of the Durranis when a small incident turned the tide against the Indians and contributed considerably to the victory of the Shah.

When the Indian Sardars were pushing forward, Kaura Mall's elephant happened to set its foot on a dilapidated grave which sank under its weight. This presented a favourable opportunity to Adina Beg Khan who, out of jealousy, was looking forward to a chance when he could successfully strike a mortal blow at Kaura Mall. While Kaura Mall shifted himself to the *howdah* of Ni'mat Khan's elephant and was just taking his seat therein, Adina Beg Khan instructed one of the Afghans of Kasur, Bayazid Khan by name, 'to

20. *Tahmas Namah,* B. 15; *Tarikh-i-Ali,* 223.
21. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 889 (English trans. iii, 326).

put an end to the existence of Kora Mall by a musket-ball."[22] Sayyad Jamil-ul-Din Khan at the same time was wounded in the chin, and Sardar Sangat Singh, the leader of the Sikh contingent, was killed. The Durranis, at this stage, made a sudden rush and carried away the heads of Kaura Mall and Yaqut Khan *Khwaja Sera*, who had also been killed in the battle. Adina Beg Khan then deserted his post and fled to the city.[23]

The brunt of the Afghan attack had then to be borne by Mir Muin-ul-Mulk and Bhikari Khan, who held their posts to the last and continued the fight But they suffered heavy losses and many of their soldiers were killed or wounded. Farid-ud-Din also fell in the battle. The Shah then threw a division of horse into the wavering rank of the enemy. The Indians could not hold for long against the Afghans and a feeling of panic spread among them. But the shades of evening which engulfed the scene in darkness saved them from slaughter. Ahmad Shah Durrani was the victor of the day. Some Afghans entered the city and started plundering. But the darkness of the night, it being the third day from the *Amavasya*. was so thick that nothing could be seen distinctly and friends could not be distinguished from foes. Disconcerted, they ran back to their camp.

Muin-ul-Mulk said his *Maghrib* and *Khuftan* prayers in the field itself. He had not lost hope Although his artillery had fallen into the hands of Ahmad Shah and there was no ammunition for his swivels, he had a force of ten thousand men in the field. He was not in favour of leaving the battle-

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22 Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 242: *Farhat-un-Nazirin*, E & D. viii, 168; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 8; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 224, *Tahmas Namah*, 15.

23. *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 224; *Tahmas Namah*, B. 15 The scene of the battle is marked by a large quadrangular tomb of masonry This, the neighbouring villagers tell us, was erected by the surviving son of Aziz Beg, a person of distinction in Mir Mannu's army who, with five of his sons, fell in the battle; the survivor being unable to recognize the bodies of his father and brothers, collected the bones of all those slain in the place where the fight was the thickest, and buried them in a large vault below the tomb. The plain around is still strewn with human bones. *Gazetteer of the Lahore District* (1883-84), 27. Cf.

field but his Sardars pressed him to move to the *Idgah*, where they hoped to find Adina Beg Khan. But Adina Beg had fled to the city much earlier for his own safety without thinking of his master. Consultations were held at the *Idgah*. Some suggested that, since the outcome of the contest was obvious, they should retire to Delhi, while others preferred to seek shelter in the hills. Muin was opposed to all such suggestions. It was ultimately decided to move to the village of Saurian, to the north-east of Lahore between Lopoki and Ajnala, and from there to make an assault upon the Durranis. But on arrival at one of the city-gates, Muin refused to move further saying, "Friends, whosoever wishes to go, may do so. I shall not run away from the field. People will say: 'Muin-ul-Mulk has fled from the field of battle.' I shall get into the fort and fight on. Whatever is His will, shall happen." So saying, he ordered the gates of the city and of the fort to be closed and mounted his guns on the walls to defend them.[24]

MIR MANNU MEETS THE SHAH

With the dawn of the day, the Shah besieged the city and plundered its suburbs. But finding it strongly fortified and the defenders determined to fight on, the Shah in the afternoon sent Shah Wali Khan, Jahan Khan, Shah Ghulam Muhammad *Pirzada* and Mufti Abdullah Peshawari with a letter to Muin-ul-Mulk inviting a trusted agent of his to a conference for negotiating peace. The Shah wrote, says Tahmas Khan, "It is now four months since Musalmans are being killed on both sides. Now again you have fortified the fort to continue the fight. Will this action, which will result in the slaughter of Musalmans on both sides, be acceptable to God and the Prophet? This will certainly be against Their will. The most advisable thing for you is to depute a trusted envoy, with full authority, to settle the terms of peace acceptable to you. Satisfying yourself with these, you may come here with a smiling face for a personal meeting. Permit no suspicion to enter your mind." "I had only to square up

24. *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 225; *Tahmas Namah*, B. 15; *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, Ext. 20.

my business with Kaura Mall," the message continued, "you may live in peace in the fort. I have nothing to do with you or your city. Send me the money that I have asked for, either from your own treasury or by raising it from the people, and I shall go back."[25]

On receipt of this letter there was a sudden change in the mind of Muin-ul-Mulk and he made up his mind to visit the Shah in person. His officers and friends made every effort to dissuade him, but without success. With only a few attendants such as Bhikari Khan, Khwaja Murad Khan and Muhammad Taqi Khan Darogha — and, Darab Khan and Mir Ahmadi Khan, sons of Nawab Jan-Nisar Khan, and a eunuch, Muhabbat, according to the *Tarikh-i-Husain-Shahi* — he fearlessly accompanied the Shah's envoys to his camp. He dismounted at the tents of Abdus Samad Khan Muhammadzei and Shah Pasand and from there he was conducted to the Shah's presence by the prime minister, Shah Wali Khan, and the commander-in-chief, Jahan Khan.[26]

Ahmad Shah was highly pleased to see him and unreservedly appreciated his spirit and bravery. "Bravo! Well done! Muin-ul-Mulk," said the Shah, "if I were your master, I would have laid a bridge of men [reinforcements] from Qandahar to Lahore."

The following interesting conversation is recorded to have taken place between the Shah and Mir Muin-ul-Mulk:

Ahmad Shah: Why did you not submit earlier ?

Muin-ul-Mulk: Because then I had another master to serve.

Ahmad Shah: Why didn't that master of yours come to your help from Delhi ?

Muin: Because he was confident that Muin-ul-Mulk was strong enough for the war and that there was no necessity for sending an army.

Ahmad Shah: Well, say, what you would have done to me if I had fallen into your hands.

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25 *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 31b; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 225; *Tahmas Namah*, B 16.

26 *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 225; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i, 134; Cf. Khushwaqt Rai, 71-72, etc.

Muin: I would have cut your head off and sent it to my Emperor.

Ahmad Shah: Now that you are in my hands, what should I do to you?

Muin: If you are a merchant, sell me (for a ransom); but if you are a king (a just and merciful king), grant me your grace and pardon.[27]

Ahmad Shah was highly pleased with the fearlessness and straightforwardness of his brave adversary. He embraced him as a true soldier, called him his 'own son', granted him the title of *Farzand Khan Bahadur* and bestowed on him a robe of honour, an aigrette and his own turban, with presents of a sword and a horse of his own. Muin then begged the Shah to release his Indian prisoners of war and to grant peace to the city of Lahore, which was then being subjected to indiscriminate massacre and plunder. It is stated that the number of the dead in the field of battle was only two thousand, while that of those who were massacred in the city after the battle was as high as five thousand.[28] The Shah was pleased to grant Muin's request and posted his *nasaqchis*, or body-guard officers, in the city to see that no resident was robbed and maltreated by the Afghans. He also ordered that the prisoners be set at liberty. Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan, sons of Ali Muhammad Khan, were also allowed to return to Rohilkhand.[29]

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27. *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 225; *Tahmas Namah*, B. 16; *Husain Shahi*, 25; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 134-35; *Gazetteer of the Lahore District* (1883-84), 28; *Shamsher-i-Khalsa* (Gurmukhi, Sialkot, 1892), 475-76. According to Khushwaqt Rai's *Tawarikh-i-Sikhan*, 71-72, and Ali-ud-Din's *Ibrat Namah*, 223, Mir Mannu is said to have replied to one of Ahmad Shah's questions, "I would have imprisoned you in an iron cage and sent you to Delhi."

Cf. Amar Nath, *Zafar Namah-i-Ranjit Singh*, 111-13. According to him Mun's reply was:

"If you are a merchant, sell me, if you are a butcher, kill me and, if you are a king, patronize me."

28. *Tahmas Namah*, B. 17; Khushwaqt Rai, *Tawarikh-i-Sikhan*, 71.

29. *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 226-27; *Husain Shahi*, 26; Bakht Mall, *Khalsa Namah*, 34;; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 51-2; *Hayat-i-Hafiz*, 66. According to some writers, the title of *Rustam-i-Hind* was also conferred on Mir Mannu in addition to that of *Farzand Khan Bahadur*. But, according

In the course of the interview the Shah occasionally referred to his intention of marching upon Delhi. But Muin dissuaded him from translating it into action, saying, "If you turn your attention to Hindustan, I will be condemned as a traitor by one and all. Now that you have spared my life and called me your 'own son', please do not think of invading Hindustan as long as I am alive. Or, put me to death before your departure." The appeal of Muin touched the heart of the Shah and he acceded to his request and gave up the idea of moving towards Delhi.

Muin-ul-Mulk was then entertained as a royal guest for three days and Sardar Mustafa Khan was appointed his *mehmandar*. On the fourth day, the 10th of March, 1752, Ahmad Shah said to Muin-ul-Mulk, "All these days you have been our guest. Now, I am your guest. Arrange for my departure. The heat of the approaching summer is increasing." "If I am allowed to return to the city," said Muin, "I shall make the necessary arrangements for your departure." The Shah then ordered some more presents for Muin-ul-Mulk and detailed Shah Wali Khan, Jahan Khan and Shah Pasand Khan to escort him to the city with the royal Afghan drums beating to announce his entry.[30]

TREATY BETWEEN MIR MANNU AND AHMAD SHAH

In four days a few lakhs of rupees were collected, and, on the fifth day, Muin-ul-Mulk and Bhikari Khan went to the Shah's camp to present this amount to him for a dinner

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to the *Maasir-ul-Umra*, i. 360, and *Risalah-i-Nanak Shah*, 123, and others, the title of *Rustam-i-Hind* was given to Mannu along with the title of *Muin-ul-Mulk* by the Mughal Emperor of India after his victory at Manupur in 1748.

30. *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 226. According to the *Tahmas Namah*, B. 17, Muin-ul-Mulk stayed in the camp of Ahmad Shah Durrani for only one night. There is an entry in the *Delhi Chronicle* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's trans.), as follows:

"6th March. Muin-ul-Mulk, after Diwan Kaura Mall had been slain in the battle, became a prisoner of Ahmad Afghan; the army entered Lahore."

This evidently refers to the submission and stay of Muin-ul-Mulk in the camp of Ahmad Shah Durrani, as narrated above.

to himself and his troops. All the Sardars assembled in the *Darikhana,* and, there, Mufti Abdullah placed a sheet of paper in the hands of Muin-ul-Mulk for his seal. On hearing this, Bhikari Khan replied that it was only a blank sheet and that nothing had been written on it. "You are like prisoners here," said the Mufti, "you have simply to seal it and hand it over to the Shah. It is for him to write whatever he likes." "Well, Sir, it cannot be sealed in this way," said Bhikari Khan. "The truth is," said he, "that the Shah has granted us three favours: first, he has spared our lives although we fought against him for four months; secondly, he has allowed us to retain (for administrative purposes) the province of Multan and the territories in the neighbourhood of the Indus attached to Hazara; and thirdly, he has granted the peace of Hindustan at our request." When Barkhurdar Khan *Arzbegi* reported this talk to the Shah, he called Bhikari Khan to his presence and authorized him to write on that sheet of paper whatever he wished. Bhikari Khan wrote down that Muin-ul-Mulk agreed to pay to the Shah,

(i) ten lakhs of rupees for the grant of their lives;
(ii) ten lakhs for the territories granted to him, and
(iii) ten lakhs for the peace of India.

The Shah accepted the document and desired Bhikari Khan to arrange for a speedy payment of the money. Mufti Abdullah had wished for the government of Lahore to be given to Adina Beg Khan and to send Muin-ul-Mulk as a prisoner to Afghanistan, but his designs were frustrated. Adina Beg Khan was placed in confinement; all his property in the house of Abdullah was confiscated and the Mufti was publicly disgraced.[31]

Returning to the city, Muin sent Bhikari Khan, with Khushmir Khan *Sazawal,* a land steward of the Shah, to Nurpur in the Kangra hills — where his treasure and family were then lodged — to fetch the money. The money was brought and Muin paid twenty-six lakhs of rupees into the royal treasury of His Afghan Majesty and promised to remit the balance of four lakhs by the time he arrived on the Indus on his way back to Afghanistan.

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31. *Tarikh-i-Ali,* 227-8; *Tahmas Namah,* B. 17.

By the treaty concluded between Muin-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Shah it was stipulated

(i) that the provinces of Lahore and Multan were to be considered as annexed to the Afghan empire of Ahmad Shah Durrani;

(ii) that Muin-ul-Mulk was, as usual, to remain the governor of these provinces on behalf of the Shah,

(iii) that the internal administration was in no way to be interfered with; only the surplus revenue was henceforth to be sent to the Afghan Emperor, 'and the final orders in the highest questions were to be taken from him.'[32]

The Shah also desired that the coin be struck and *Khutba* be read in his name. But Muin-ul-Mulk respectfully replied that the Mughal Emperor, Ahmad Shah, of India was still in power at Delhi and that most of his *Amirs* and *Sardars* were devotedly attached to him as his faithful servants, and it was feared, therefore, that the issue of the new coin and the change in the *Khutba* would introduce fresh complications, which it would become difficult to solve at that stage and would bring him into disrepute. In this strain, Muin appealed to the Shah, who understood the situation and did not insist on these innovations.[33]

TREATY RATIFIED BY THE MUGHAL EMPEROR

In about a fortnight after the submission of Muin-ul-Mulk, Ahmad Shah settled the affairs of Lahore, and then sent his envoy, Qalandar Beg Khan, to his namesake, the Mughal Emperor at Delhi, to secure the ratification of his treaty with the governor of Lahore. The envoy arrived at

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32. *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 227-28; *Husain Shahi*, 26, *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 889 (English Trans. iii, 326-7), *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 19; *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, Ext. 21, *History of the Panjab* (Allen & Co. 1846), 201; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, i. 434

33 *Tahmas Namah*, B 17. Nizam-ud-Din Ishrat in his *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya*. 162, says that the coin was struck and the *Khutba* read in the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani But this, evidently, is manufactured by the poet's imagination It is not corroborated by any other authority.

the Mughal capital with seven or eight *sawars* of his own, and a *Jamadar* and two or three *sawars* of Mum on the 1st of April, 1752, and was welcomed at the Shalamar Garden by Muhy-ud-Din Ali Khan, who had been appointed his *mehmandar*. The Emperor, as we know, had written urgent orders to his prime minister, the *Wazir-ul-Mumalik* (Muhammad Muqim Abul Mansur Khan) *Safdar Jang* to hasten to the capital, and it had been reported that he had left for Delhi on the 19th Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1165 A.H., March 24, 1752, and secured the help of the Marathas to fight against the Durrani.[34] It was, therefore, decided to postpone the talk with the Durrani envoy till his return. But Safdar Jang was deliberately delaying his return to Delhi under the pretext of his being busy with the settlement of Oudh. As there was no immediate prospect of his arrival, Qalandar Beg Khan pressed for an early reply. The Mughal Emperor and his officers could not afford to give any cause of offence to the Durrani Shah. The very thought of an invasion of the

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34. It was only after receipt of angry summons from the Emperor that Wazir Safdar Jang entered into negotiations with Sindhia and Holkar at Kanauj just when they were on the point of leaving for the Deccan and effected a formal agreement with them on 12th April, 1752 (?). The agreement contained the following terms:

(1) That the Peshwa should defend the Emperor from his internal enemies like the Pathans, the Rajputs or other rebels, and from external foes like the Afghan King Abdali.

(2) That the Emperor should pay 50 lacs to the Marathas for their help, of which 30 lacs was to be on account of Abdali and 20 lacs on account of internal enemies like the Pathans.

(3) That in addition the Peshwa was given the right to levy *Chauth* from the Panjab, Sindh and the Doab.

(4) That the Peshwa be granted the Subahdarship of Agra and Ajmer, which he should administer on the traditional lines of Mughal rule.

(5) That if the Peshwa could not come personally to serve the Emperor, he should depute his sardars for the purpose.

All this was too late, as we know. The Emperor had agreed to the submission of Mum-ul-Mulk to His Afghan Majesty. He could not, therefore, ratify the agreement with the Marathas. But the Maratha sardars soon arrived at Delhi and it became a problem to dismiss them. An urgent call at this time from the Peshwa for Sindhia and Holkar to immediately repair to the south, however, saved the situation.—Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, vol. II, 365-67.

capital brought before their eyes the horrors of 1739 and terrified them. It was ultimately agreed to grant the Afghan envoy an interview on Monday, the 2nd of Jamadi-us-Sani, April 6, 1752, when he was at first received by Nawab Jawid Khan Bahadur and then by the Emperor in the Bangala-i-Chihal Satun, the Pavilion of Forty Pillars. Ahmad Shah Durrani's letter was received with all the honour due to the royal messages and the envoy was told that the reply would be given to him after a week. The Mughal emperor and his ministers quietly agreed to the formal cession of the *Subahs* of Lahore and Multan to Ahmad Shah Durrani, 'or in actual effect to pay him fifty lakhs of rupees a year in lieu of their surplus revenue.'

On Monday, the 9th of Jamadi-us-Sani, April 13, 1752, Qalandar Khan was given *rukhsat* or leave to depart, in the *Diwan-i-Khas*, with a letter to the Shah, ratifying his treaty with Mun. To keep up appearances, however, the Mughal told the Afghan envoy, "I am standing firmly by my promises, but if your master deviates from his agreement, I am prepared for fighting." Qalandar Khan placed the Mughal letter of peace on his head and answered him, "Whosoever aims at this God-given state with an evil eye will be consumed by divine wrath." Before his departure, he was honoured with a *khilat* of three pieces and a jewelled *sarpech* for the turban, and was given five thousand rupees in cash, while his three companions got *khilats* of three pieces each.[35]

THE SHAH LEAVES FOR AFGHANISTAN

On or about the 20th of April, Qalandar Khan arrived at Lahore and immediately afterwards, on or about the 21st or 22nd,[36] the Shah moved out of Lahore to march back to his

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35. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 32a-33a; *Delhi Chronicle*, entries of April 1 and 13, 1752, *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 889 (English Trans. ii. 327): Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. i 345. For a detailed account of the negotiations of Safdar Jang with the Marathas, and the activities of the Mughal Amirs at Delhi regarding Ahmad Shah Durrani, see Sardesai, *A New History of the Marathas*, II, 364-67; Sarkar, i 359-69, SPD, XXI, 53, 55.

36 The news of the Shah's departure from Lahore was reported to the Mughal Emperor at Delhi on April 28, vide *Delhi Chronicle*. As

country. To cement his relations with His Afghan Majesty, Muin-ul-Mulk, before the Shah's departure, offered the hand of his daughter Umda Begam in betrothal to his son, Prince Taimur. But the marriage was not destined to be solemnized. After the death of her father, Umda Begam, as we shall later on study, became the subject of a great political strife and was ultimately given away in marriage by the Shah himself to Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din during his fourth invasion of India.

CONQUEST OF KASHMIR

The Shah had received news of the unsettled state of affairs in Kashmir while he was at Lahore. This province had always been a centre of high-handedness, intrigue and usurpation, and a settled government had been unknown there during the reign of the later Mughals. Away from the central government at Delhi, which was too weak to assert its authority in those difficult mountains, the governors and their friends and opponents, not unoften, had their own way. He who could collect a larger following and drive out the previous occupant could fill in his place without hitch or hindrance, yielding place only to a stronger and more ruthless usurper. Afrasiyab Beg Khan was the *naib,* or deputy, in Kashmir in 1161 A.H., 1748 A.D., when Ahmad Shah Durrani rose to power and invaded India for the first time. The tyrannies of Afrasiyab Beg Khan drew upon him the wrath of his people who towards the end of 1748 invited Asmat-ud-Din Khan, an *Amir* of Ahmad Shah, to take the reins of the government into his hands. Asmat-ud-Din Khan was defeated by Afrasiyab Beg Khan in the first battle. But he was led into the valley by a circuitous route, and, although he gained a victory at Pandaj in the second battle, he was shot dead on his way to the capital by a soldier of his enemy's force. Afrasiyab Beg Khan thus continued to govern for some time more. But in the beginning of 1751, he was poisoned to death. His son Ahmad Ali Khan succeeded him

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it generally took about six or seven days for a news from Lahore to be reported at Delhi, the 21st or 22nd of May may be safely accepted as the date of the Shah's departure.

and governed for about a month and a half. But he was only a minor. A regent, therefore, carried on the government on his behalf for a further period of three months. Not satisfied with this arrangement, the leading persons of Srinagar sent a representation to the Mughal Emperor at Delhi; and, for the interim, Mir Muqim Kanth was asked to officiate. He held the office for five months and was driven out by Abul Qasim Khan, son of Abul-Barkat Khan, who had been appointed the *naib* in Kashmir in 1158 A.H., 1745 A.D., and had died within two months of his arrival in the country. The refugee Mir Muqim sought shelter in Lahore and appealed to Ahmad Shah Durrani to extend to the *Firdaus bar-ru-i-zamin* — the paradise on earth — the hand of his protection. Having crossed the river Ravi on his way home, he halted for a few days at the mausoleum of Jahangir, and, as requested by Mir Muqim, sent an expeditionary force to Kashmir under Abdullah Khan *Ishak-Aghasi*. The unpopular usurper, Abul Qasim, could organize no resistance Even the most difficult defiles offered no obstruction to the Durrani commander. He penetrated unopposed to the capital at Srinagar and established his government there. Abul Qasim fled into the hills, but was soon arrested and brought in as a captive. Thus was the beautiful valley of Kashmir added to the dominions of Ahmad Shah, whose daily-expanding empire reached, with the gain of this 'paradise', the fullest extent destined for it [37]

ANNEXATION OF MULTAN

Having detailed Abdullah Khan to Kashmir, the Shah left for Qandahar via Multan. By the terms of the treaty,

37. Kirparam *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, 230-32, *Hargopal Kaul, Guldasta-i-Kashmir*, Part II (*Tawarikh-i-Kashmir*), 149-51, Prinsep, *Runjeet Singh*, 13, *History of the Punjab* (Allen & Co 1846), i 201

According to Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar's *Ahmad Shah Baba*, the Shah had detailed Ishak Aqasi Abdullah Khan with an army of ten thousand for the conquest of Kashmir during his stay at Peshawar in October 1751 But it is improbable that the Shah had undertaken two important campaigns at the same time I have followed authorities which appear to be more reliable on this point and whose accounts can be reconciled with the general trend of events and the character of the Shah.

the province of Multan had been left, as before, under the administration of Mir Mum-ul-Mulk. This place, as we know, had been the favourite resort of the Saddozeis in the days of adversity. Moreover, it was believed to have been the Shah's own birth-place. He, therefore, took keen interest in its destinies. To Durrani-ise Multan, he planted in the city a number of Saddozei families of his own tribe with generous gifts of lands and offices. Maharaja Kaura Mall, at the time of his departure for Lahore to fight against the Shah, had left the province's government in the hands of his *naib*, Shakir Khan, the elder son of Nawab Zahid Khan Saddozei. While the war with the Shah at Lahore was going on, he dismissed Shakir Khan and appointed Khwaja Husain in his place. This was also distasteful to the Shah, who, on his arrival there, ordered him to be replaced by his own nominee, Ali Muhammad Khan Khakwani, the lease-holder of Dera Ghazi Khan.[38]

EXPEDITION TO BAHAWALPUR

Ali Muhammad Khan seems to have accompanied the Shah as far as Dera Ghazi Khan. He had not for some time been favourably disposed towards the Daoodpotras of Bahawalpur. He poisoned the ears of Ahmad Shah against them, and, before his departure for Qandahar, induced him to detail an army to reduce them to subjection. Sardar Jahan Khan Popalzei was ordered to command this force. With Nawab Jan-Nisar Khan of the Dera, the Sardar crossed the Panjnad and encamped at Uch. Jan-Nisar Khan was afraid of the Daoodpotras and had secretly informed Mubarak Khan of the intentions of the Popalzei Sardar. Instead of

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38 *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi*, 26; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 251.

It will be interesting to know that on the return of Maharaja Kaura Mall to Lahore, a person of unknown extraction, calling himself Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan, collected some force and established himself at Zainpur, about five *kos* from Multan, and claimed the governorship of the province. Shakir Khan, the Maharaja's *naib*, marched out to meet the impostor, who was killed in battle, and dispersed his force. Maulana Sher Muhammad Khan's *Zubda-tul-Akhbar Waqaya-i-Multan*, 30.

issuing out to oppose the Afghan, Mubarak Khan retired to the fort of Mojgarh, situated in the jungle at a distance of about forty miles to the south-east of Bahawalpur. *Waderah* Muhammad Maruf, another chief of the Daoodpotras, threw himself in the fort of Marot, to the north-east of Mojgarh, while the other chieftains occupied Phulra, to the east of Marot. Orders were at the same time issued to the various Daoodpotra leaders to assemble forthwith at the town of Khairpur, where they would be joined by Mubarak Khan. They obeyed the call of their chief, who left the ladies of the family in Mojgarh and joined his men at Khairpur at the head of about three thousand picked *sawars*, accompanied by his sardars like Ahmad Khan, Balawal Khan Firozani, *Waderah* Jan Muhaminad Khan, Nur Muhammad Khan Marufani, *Mullah* Ali, *Mullah* Taib and others. A difference of opinion, however, arose among the sardars and, after waiting for twenty-four hours, some of them returned to their forts. In the meantime, Jahan Khan arrived at Bahawalpur and sent out a force of about eight thousand men towards Khairpur to surprise the Daoodpotras. Mubarak Khan, on the other hand, was vigilant about the movements of Jahan Khan. He also issued out of his camp at Khairpur to meet him and the two armies came to grips at Khatiala, about a *kos* to the west of the town. A sanguinary battle ensued, in which the Afghans were worsted and Jahan Khan was compelled to fly The fugitives were followed up as far as Lalsohanra, ten *kos* to the west, where the pursuit was given up.

But as Bahawalpur was still in the hands of Jahan Khan and as it was not considered advisable to provoke the wrath of the Shah by further pursuit, his general Mubarak Khan opened negotiations for peace and returned to Mojgarh. Jahan Khan welcomed the proposal and peace was concluded on very favourable terms through the agency of a *vakil*. Jahan Khan crossed the Sutlej at the ferry of Fatehpur, and bent his course to Multan for homeward journey.[39]

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39. Daulat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Mirat-i-Daulat-i-Abbasi*, 98a-99b; Shahamat Ali, *The History of Bahawalpur (Picturesque Sketches in India)*, 38-39.

CHAPTER XI

SOME MINOR AFFAIRS

The next four years in the life of Ahmad Shah were of comparative tranquillity and peace and he enjoyed his well-earned rest after a strenuous period of five years' fighting and conquest. He had built up an extensive empire and this period of leisure he utilized in its settlement and administration.[1]

DANGER OF AZAD KHAN AFGHAN ELIMINATED

It will be interesting to know how the power of Azad Khan Afghan of the Ghalzei tribe, who had declared his pretensions to the throne of Afghanistan, came to be arrested and how a danger to the empire of Ahmad Shah was removed. Azad Khan, as we know, was an old general of Nadir Shah and had taken possession of the Persian province of Azarbaijan. It is true that in creating a new state of Khurasan—independent of Persia—under Mirza Shah Rukh, Ahmad Shah had been guided by the consideration of placing a buffer state between Persia and Afghanistan and protecting himself against the ambitious projects of a hostile chief like Azad Khan from the north-west. Azad Khan, says Ferrier, "was a man of great firmness, brave, and more enlightened than are ordinarily the individuals of his nation, and his justice, his equitable views, and the partiality which he manifested in favour of the sect of the Shiahs, drew around him a great number of partisans. Seeing his power and popularity thus increased he declared openly his pretension to the possession of Irak, Khurasan and even proposed to push on to Afghanistan, and dethrone Ahmad Shah, whom he considered an usurper, for in his opinion, the throne belonged by right to a chief of the tribe of Ghildjzyes." But his march to the east was arrested by the activities of

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1 The civil and military administration of Ahmad Shah has been discussed at some length at the end. *Vide* App I and II.

Karim Khan Zand, who was one of the three aspirants to the throne of Persia, the other two being Muhammad Husain Khan Kajar and Azad Khan himself.

The opening battle of the triangular contest was fought between Karim Khan Zand and Muhammad Husain Kajar on the borders of Mazandaran and resulted in a victory for the latter. But he could not pursue his adversary owing to the advance of Azad Khan upon Gilan Azad Khan, of course, quietly retreated on hearing of the victory of Muhammad Husain Khan. The defeated Karim Khan soon reorganized his forces and attacked Azad Khan who shut himself in Kazvin, to the north-west of Tehran, and from there beat off the Zand. Karim Khan retired to Isfahan and made another effort against the Afghan. On this occasion in 1165 A.H, 1752 A D, Karim was defeated and pursued right across Persia, past Isfahan to Shiraz. Discouraged by these reverses, Karim Khan thought of flying to India, but was diverted from the project by his friend, Rustam Sultan, chief of Khisht, who represented to him how easy it would be to annihilate the army of Azad when they entered the difficult defile of the Kotal-i-Kamarij to pursue Karim Khan into Khisht. And, it proved to be literally true.

The pass of Kamarij is about two miles in length. 'The road, or rather path, which winds along the edge of the mountain, is very narrow (in some places not more than 2 feet wide), and, consequently, only admits of troops, marching in a single file.' The inaccessible peaks of this pass were manned by Rustam Sultan, while Karim waited for the enemy in the valley below. The force of the Afghans was permitted to enter the pass without the slightest indication of the impending danger, and no sooner were they caught in the trap than Rustam Sultan and Karim Khan fell upon the whole line with the ferocity of wounded lions. Azad Khan's army was almost annihilated, and, with the help of some Arab chiefs, Karim Khan was soon back at Shiraz. This happened in 1166 A H., 1753 A.D. In the final struggle of 1171 A.H, 1757 A.D, with Muhammad Husain Khan Kajar, Azad Khan was driven from pillar to post and he disappeared from the list of pretenders, ultimately throwing himself at the mercy of Karim Khan Zand, who at last succeeded in occupying the

throne of Persia, and establishing the short-lived dynasty of the Zands, yielding place to the Kajars towards the close of the century. Ahmad Shah received the news of the elimination of Azad Khan Afghan and the successes of Karim Khan Zand with mixed feelings of relief and disquietitude. The Zand, with increasing resources and larger force, could be of greater danger to his north-western dominions. But since he always had his hands full with more pressing business at home which included the maintenance of the tranquillity of his own kingdom, the Persians never made an attempt to annex Afghanistan and provoke a trial of strength with the Afghans.[2]

THE INTRIGUES OF SAFDAR JANG AT DELHI

In the autumn of 1752, there seems to have been afoot at the court of Delhi an attempt to stir up a rebellion in the north-western Afghan province of Khurasan. As there was then no love lost between the emperor and his *wazir*, this was, evidently, a sinister move on the part of Safdar Jang to entangle the emperor and his friend Muin-ul-Mulk, the governor of Lahore. As desired by the emperor, the *Wazir ul-Mumalik* Safdar Jang had secured the help of the Marathas in March, 1752, against Ahmad Shah, but he arrived at Delhi (April 25, 1752) too late to prevent the ratification of the treaty delivered through Nawab Javid Khan, to the Afghan envoy, Qalandar Khan, on April 13. As an arch-enemy of Muin-ul-Mulk, he had, perhaps, taken the peace-treaty and the consequent retention of Muin as the governor of the provinces of Lahore and Multan as his own diplomatic defeat and was smarting under disappointment. The only way to incite the wrath of the Shah against Muin-ul-Mulk was to create bad blood between the Mughal emperor and the great Afghan by instigating Mirza Shah Rukh, with promises of help, to raise the standard of rebellion in Khurasan. He could thus hit two birds with one stone. Muin would fall under the first blow of the infuriated Afghan and the Mughal emperor would be his next victim. With the emperor thus landed

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2 Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 43-4, Sykes, *A History of Persia*, 373-4; Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, 82-3.

in difficulties, it would become easier for the wazir to gain more power over him.

Sawai Madho Singhji of Jaipur was Safdar's friend. It was said that Madho Singh had received letters from Kabul saying that Mirza Shah Rukh, then the governor of Khurasan, had arrived at Qandahar and had asked for help against Ahmad Shah[3] Any such letter, if shown to the emperor, was clear forgery calculated to dupe him into writing to Mirza Shah Rukh offering him help against the Durranis. "The Emperor has written to Nadir Shah's grandson," says a Marathi letter, "to come from that side and has promised to send his armies in the direction of Kabul so that this rascal can be punished." Orders were at the same time sent to Mir Muin-ul-Mulk calling him to Delhi to arrange for the despatch of army towards Kabul. And it was "reported that Mir Mannu, in obedience to the order, is coming to Delhi." The Maratha allies of Safdar Jang, who were expected to play a considerable part in the projected expedition, were also getting in touch with Mir Mannu, the Governor of the Panjab, and letters were exchanged by the Maratha *vakil* at Delhi and the Mir at Lahore.[4]

THE MARCH OF THE SHAH TO INDIA ABANDONED

Ahmad Shah had either been informed secretly from Delhi or had, otherwise, come to know of the plot being hatched there. In the month of Muharram, 1166 A.H., November, 1752, he arrived at Jalalabad, 116 miles to the east of Kabul, and sent Jahan Khan to the Indus. This created a panic in Lahore and a feeling of disquietitude in Delhi. Mir Mannu, at this stage, seems to have apprised Jahan Khan and, through him, the Shah of the real situation, because they moved no further and were satisfied with sending an envoy to Delhi.[5]

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3. Marathi letter from Jagannath Krishna to Bhagwant Rao Amatya and Shivaram Pant, received January 12, 1753; SPD. XXVII (Supplementary), 68.

4. *SPD.* XXVII. 68, 77, 83.

5. The object of the Afghan envoy was to demand the annual tribute of 50 lacs of rupees evidently for the year commencing with 1st Muharram, 1166 A. H. Sardesai—*New History of the Marathas,* II. 367.

Hearing of the movements of the Shah and Jahan Khan, Safdar Jang had advised the emperor at Delhi to move to Lahore. The latter replied, "Our government have neither any war materials nor any soldiers ready. If it is not possible to manage affairs without my going, I am ready to go alone. You alone are the chief manager of the business of state. The entire country and its revenues and expenses are in your hands. Arrange for money so that the soldiers be paid and preparations for war materials be made." This silenced the *wazir*. On the 1st of Safar 1166 A.H., December 8, 1752, Safdar Jang sent a message to the emperor that Ahmad Shah Durrani was determined to march upon Lahore which made it necessary for the emperor to move towards that place, and that the astrologers had fixed the 9th of Safar, December 16, as the most auspicious day for the emperor's march from Delhi. Should he, however, wish to postpone his own departure, the camp equipage might be despatched and he might leave on a later date approved by the astrologers. The emperor consulted his mother, Malika Sahiba-az-Zamani, popularly known as Malika Zamani, who replied, "Neither we have any treasure nor the Wazir-ul-Mumalik. He fully knows the state of the country, the army and the treasury. Should he, however, wish the emperor to move out empty-handed, let him say so, so that he may have self-satisfaction and be ready for the march." This reply sealed the Wazir's lips on the subject forever and nothing more was heard about it again.[6]

AFGHAN ENVOY AT DELHI

It was about the middle of December, 1752, that the Afghan envoy arrived at Lahore. Mir Mum-ul-Mulk detailed three of his own trusted officials to accompany him to Delhi, where they arrived in the second week of January, 1753. The envoy was lodged in the garden of Kamgar Khan near Takia Majnun, and Emperor Ahmad Shah ordered the Diwan-i-Am to be decorated for his reception. After two or three days the *wazir* stopped the preparations and removed the curtains, awnings, etc., saying that the envoy was not such a dignitary

6. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 43b-44b.

meeting at the *wazir's* house and what were the contents of the reply is not known. The Mughals, however, seem to have given the usual assurances of mutual friendship and faithful adherence to the terms of the treaty of the last year to the satisfaction of the Shah, who returned to Qandahar and recalled Sardar Jahan Khan from the bank of the Indus.[8]

DISCOMFITURE OF AMIR KHAN QARAYI AT MASHHAD

Another reason for the return of the Shah to his headquarters was the receipt of disquieting news from Khurasan. After the conquest of this province, the Shah, as we know, had left Nur Muhammad to help the blind Shah Rukh in its administration. He was, however, soon recalled and a more efficient man, Amir Khan Qarayi of Daulatabad, was deputed to take his place On the departure of Nur Muhammad, Mirza Shah Rukh, however, appointed one of his own ser-

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year. Every year fifty lakhs must be paid to us If fifty lakhs are paid for the current year, we will cross the Attock on receipt of the money and go back. If not, we are coming to Delhi. Be prepared to fight." This is what passed at the meeting. On that day the envoy was honoured with dresses and feast and was told that the reply would be given to him after eight days. The *Padshah* then called the *wazir* and all the *amirs* to a conference and asked them, "what should be the reply to be given to the envoy of the Abdali? He is sure to come to Delhi If he does not come to Delhi, he is sure to capture three *subahs* like Lahore, etc., worth ten caror, or all the Sardars will have to go to the Attock to fight (against him)." All gave a uniform reply saying, "Your Majesty, the Marathas have undertaken to fight against the Abdali in return for Ajmer and Akbarabad and for the *chauth* of the twenty-two *subahs* So they may be referred to regarding it" The Nawab Wazir then informed them all, "The Marathas have been useful last year in the Jamuna-Gangetic Doab. Within two months forty thousand of their army will arrive Today they have an army of five thousand strong in Delhi Within a week or two, they can have another five thousand, making the total of ten thousand strong ready I have thirty thousand of my own ready. Thus, including the Marathas, we have, in all, forty thousand ready at hand."

The letter is incomplete, but it throws a good deal of light on the attitude of Safdar Jang towards Ahmad Shah Durrani, and the treaty concluded with him in 1752 *SPD* XXI. 53.

8. According to the *New History of the Marathas*, II 367, 'the wazir with difficulty managed to send him back with some partial payment.'

vants, Faridun Khan, as his *naib* Amir Khan availed himself of the jealousies between the officials of the Mirza and gained admittance into the city of Mashhad under the pretence of pilgrimage to the shrine of Imam Ali Raza Having posted his men at the gates, he occupied three or four towers, and, thus making sure of his hold on the city, began to maltreat the citizens. This enraged the Mirza and he detailed Mir Husain Khan Afshar, the one-eyed, and Faridun Khan to turn him out. This was effected without much difficulty. Husain and Faridun issued out of the Chahar Bagh gate and put the small contingent of the Afghans to the sword in the garden outside and disarmed the Qarayis. The citizens also took up arms against the men of Amir Khan at the gates and the towers, and dislodged them from their position. Thus overpowered, Amir Khan retired to his home in Daulatabad. But as Amir Khan's own tactlessness was mostly responsible for his discomfiture, the Shah seems to have taken no serious notice of this untoward happening[9] Faridun continued in office as the Naib of Shah Rukh till he was put to death by Nasrullah Mirza, son of Shah Rukh But as the activities of the sons of Shah Rukh belong to the sixties of the century and do not fall strictly within the province of our subject, they will be referred to, but briefly, in their respective places.

ABBAS QULI KHAN AT NISHAPUR

Abbas Quli Khan Biyat of Nishapur remained devotedly attached to Ahmad Shah throughout his life. He was a moderate and just ruler, and contributed considerably to the improvement of the city and the territories of Nishapur. He was very popular with his people and it is said that under him, his capital 'approached its ancient splendour.'

With the exception of upheavals in the Panjab, of which we shall read in the subsequent pages, the empire of Ahmad Shah continued in peace and prosperity for over a decade, and, but for the loss of the provinces of Sirhind, Lahore and Multan, captured by the Sikhs in 1763-4, and minor revolts in Baluchistan and Khurasan, it remained intact throughout his life.

9. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 114-16.

Chapter XII

UPHEAVALS IN THE PANJAB
DEATH OF MIR MANNU AND AFTER

THE DEATH OF MIR MANNU

Ever since the rise of Banda Singh to power and the establishment of his short-lived *raj* in the Panjab in 1710, the Sikhs had been looked upon as rebels and persecuted in every possible manner. Once when Muin-ul-Mulk was encamped at the village of Malikpur at a distance of seven or eight *kos* from Lahore, *harkaras*, or messengers, brought to him the intelligence that some Sikhs were hiding in the sugar-cane fields near by. Muin-ul-Mulk immediately rode out for the *shikar* and surrounded the Sikhs. But, all of a sudden, his horse got frightened, stood on its hind legs and became unmanageable. Mannu was thrown off his seat and he fell to the ground. But, as ill luck would have it, one of his feet got entangled in the stirrup and he was dragged along the earth to fatal unconsciousness. This happened on Friday, the 5th of Muharram, 1167 A.H., November 2, 1753. On the third day, the 7th of Muharram, 1167 A.H., Kartik *Sudi* 9, 1810 Bk., November 4, 1753 A.D., Muin-ul-Mulk breathed his last.[1]

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1 *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 85b-92b; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 98; Ratan Singh, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, 435-436; Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash*, 711; *Pothi Tarikh-i-Singhan*, 71; *Ibrat Namah*, 244.

Tahmas Khan, in his memoirs, called the *Tahmas Namah*, however, gives a different account. According to him, Muin was for some time encamped at Malikpur—also read as Tilakpur—from where one day he went out for *shikar*. On returning from the hunt, he had his meals in a new fort of his, and rested there for some time. Late in the afternoon, Khwaja Mirza Jan presented a few heads of the executed Sikhs and received his reward. He then rode out for some distance and came down from his horse to ease himself. He felt an urge for a motion, but his bowels did not move. He became weak and fell down His tongue failed him, and he could not talk. He was removed in a *palki* to the camp. No medical aid could give him relief. Up to midnight he remained in an unconscious state, with the

Suraiya Begam, or Murad Begam, also called Mughlani Begam, the widow of Muin-ul-Mulk, then appeared on the stage of the Panjab history. She was a very clever woman, and, if she had only overcome the weaknesses of her sex,

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sound of *khurr-khurr* coming out of his throat. After midnight, he breathed his last (B. 20-1).

Tahmas Khan was a page of Mir Mannu and claims to be present on the occasion. But his account is so different from those of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, Ali-ud-Din's *Ibrat Namah* and the histories of the Sikhs that it cannot be easily accepted. The account of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, based on the day-to-day news and agreeing substantially with the *Ibrat Namah*, may be accepted as nearest to truth. According to the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*:

'All of a sudden, from the writings of the *harkarahs*, it was reported to the emperor that Muin-ul-Mulk, the *nazim* of Lahore who was encamped at a distance of about seven or eight *kos* from Lahore and was always fighting with the Sikhs of Nanak, rode out for *shikar* on the 5th of Muharram, fell down from his horse and became unconscious, and died on the 7th of the month'

Ali-ud-Din in his *Ibrat Namah* tells us, 'Muin-ul-Mulk, with a view to uprooting the Sikhs and laying the foundation of a fort in Awan, went there and, as proposed, established the fort. As the days of his life had come to an end, he rode out on a fast and unmanageable horse to the hunting-ground of death. The horse became erect, that is, it stood on two legs. The Nawab could not control it and fell down. Although efforts were made to give him relief from the shock, it was all in vain, and he marched from the land of the perishable to the world eternal.'

That the *shikar*, referred to above, was that of the Sikhs, is mentioned in the *Prachin Panth Prakash* by Rattan Singh Bhangu, who also uses the word *Shikar*. As for the cause of the frightening of Muin's horse, the sound of a volley fired by the Sikhs, from within the sugar-cane field, is mentioned by the author of the *Pothi Tarikh-i-Singhan*. Rattan Singh is silent about it. According to Gian Singh, it was the flight of a vulture

The *Khazanah-i-Amira*, the *Tarikh-i-Sikhan* of Khushwaqt Rai, 72, the *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 103, the *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 10, *Rise of the Sikh Power* (Prinsep), 13, support the fall-from-horse theory, whereas *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* of Qudratullah Siddiqi attributes it to cholera. The *Tarikh-i-Afghanan* of Shiv Prasad and *Risalah-i-Nanak Shah*, 125, have followed Tahmas Khan. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 235; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 895. As to the place of the event, Khushwaqt Rai says that it was near Bhasin and he is supported by Shiv Prasad. It also reconciles with the distance from Lahore given by the *Tahmas Namah* and the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*.

she would have given to the Panjab an energetic and capable woman-administrator.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE MUGHAL EMPEROR

The news of the death of Muin-ul-Mulk reached Delhi on the 12th of November (Muharram 15). On the following day, Emperor Ahmad Shah bestowed the governorship of the provinces of Lahore and Multan upon his own three-year old son, Prince Mahmood Shah, and quite fittingly appointed Muhammad Amin Khan, the two-year-old son of Mir Muin-ul-Mulk, as his deputy. The actual power, however, was vested in Mir Moman Khan of Kasur, an old friend of Muin-ul-Mulk. At the same time, the governorship of Kashmir, which had fallen vacant after the death of Afrasiyab Khan and had since been usurped by a nominee of Ahmad Shah Durrani sent with a force by Sardar Jahan Khan, was given to another Prince, Taleh Saeed Shah, with I'tzad-ud-Daula (a son of the emperor's maternal aunt), a boy of fifteen or sixteen, as his *naib*. 'What a wonderful revolution in the times, and in the ways of the chiefs of the world,' remarked the author of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* with justifiable indignation, 'that such high offices as were meant for big and experienced nobles, should be conferred upon infants like these! The *tamasha* of the divine power should be watched to know what the hidden future is going to bring on the stage of the world.'[2]

The puppet-play, however, lasted only for four days, and on the 20th of Muharram, November 17, the *Wazir-ul-Mumalik* Mir Nizam-ud-Din *Intizam-ud-Daulah,* (the brother of Muin-ul-Mulk,) who had replaced Safdar Jang in March 1753, was appointed absentee *subedar* of the Panjab. Intizam-ud-Daulah, on his own behalf, appointed on the 24th of Muharram, November 21, Mir Moman Khan and Bhikari Khan as his deputies, and Adina Beg Khan as the *naib* faujdar of Doaba Bist Jullundur.[3]

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2. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi,* 84a, 85a.
3. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi,* 86b, 87b.

MANNU'S SON APPOINTED BY AHMAD SHAH

But the appointments could not be considered as finally settled with these transactions and the conferment of the robes of honour by the court of Delhi. They could only be complete with the approval of Ahmad Shah Durrani to whom the Panjab had been virtually ceded by the treaty of March-April, 1752, and who could, at any time, rush down upon the country to claim his right through the arbitration of the sword. Towards the end of Muharram, the last week of November, the body of Muin-ul-Mulk was removed to Lahore from its temporary deposit at Malikpur and was interred in the mausoleum of Hazarat Ishan near the tomb of *Khan Bahadur* Zakariya Khan. After this, the two deputies, Moman Khan and Bhikari Khan, sent letters with the seals of Muhammad Amin Khan, the baby-viceroy of the Panjab, to Mullah Aman, at Qandahar, for the Shah, and deputed Haji Beg as an envoy to Sardar Jahan Khan, then encamped at Hasan Abdal, also called Panja Sahib. The Shah was pleased to confirm, on his own behalf, Muhammad Amin Khan in the government of the Panjab and appointed Mir Moman Khan his deputy. The *farman* of His Afghan Majesty, the robe of honour and the aigrette and a sword, as emblems of investiture, were sent with Irtiza Khan, Meharban and Ashraf Khan, who arrived at Lahore about the 9th of Rabi-us-Sani, 1167, February 3, 1754. The *farman* and the khillat were 'welcomed with regal honours and the state band played in rejoicing.'[4]

BHIKARI KHAN IMPRISONED BY MUGHLANI BEGAM

The authority of the Mughal emperor had, in the meantime, been already flouted by the Begam. Equipped with the appointment order from Intizam-ud-Daulah, the prime minister at Delhi, Raushan-ud-Daulah Bhikari Khan had tried to assert himself in the affairs of the state. But he found his position irksome under the petticoat government of an immodest flirt, whose fancy and urge it became impossible for him to satisfy. Disappointed in this, Bhikari Khan

4. *Tahmas Namah*, B. 21; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 92b, 112a; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, i. 438-39.

gave up attending the court of the baby-viceroy. He kept to his own *haveli* and fortified it for purposes of emergency. But Mughlani Begam soon won over the Mughlia captains, like Qasim Khan, with titles and increase of salaries. The tension continued for some days till Mirza Jan of Bhikari's party was seduced away by the Begam by conferring upon him the title of *Khan* and the *faujdari* of the parganah of Eminabad. Mirza Jan immediately brought his erstwhile patron Bhikari Khan to the presence of the Begam, who threw him in prison and ordered his residence and property to be sacked and plundered. This took place between the 6th and 9th of Rabi-ul-Awwal and was reported to the Emperor at Delhi in about eight days, 14-17 Rabi-ul-Awwal, January 9-12, 1754.[5]

MANNU'S SON ALSO CONFIRMED BY DELHI

The timid and ease-loving *Wazir-ul-Mumalik* Intizam-ud-Daulah, incapable of taking a bold step, quietly pocketed the insult thus openly heaped upon the Mughal crown and his own authority. On the other hand, he found himself helpless before his aggressive sister-in-law and abjectly surrendered his authority in cancelling his previous grant in favour of Bhikari Khan. "When the Khan-i-Khanan (Intizam-ud-Daulah) saw that he could not take possession of, and establish his control in, Lahore," says the author of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, "and that the widow and the son of Muin-ul-Mulk were possessing and holding it, he sent dresses of honour for the child of Muin-ul-Mulk, Adina Beg Khan and Moman Khan," on the 5th of Rabi-us-Sani, January 30, 1754, five days before the arrival of a similar *farman* from Ahmad Shah Durrani. It is not improbable that he foresaw the difficulty in maintaining the terms of his first grant in face of Mughlani Begam's opposition, sanctioned by the greater and more powerful authority of the Shah Durrani. He, therefore, thought it wiser to amend it before it was overridden and quashed.

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5. *Tahmas Namah*, 21-2; *Khazanah-i-Amira;* 99, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 106a, 110a; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 238.

CONFUSION AT LAHORE

Thus equipped with the *farman* of His Afghan Majesty, and crushing the opposition of Bhikari Khan and Intizam-ud-Daulah, Mughlani Begam became secure in the government of the Panjab as the regent of her infant son. But she soon sank into evil life, threw all modesty to the winds and became notorious for her loose morals.[6] The actual authority passed into the hands of her *eunuchs,* who became her chief confidants and, to all intents and purposes, conducted the affairs of the state. But the Panjab is not the province which could be ruled by a profligate woman. Her foolish pranks and profligacies turned her best supporters and devoted servants against her. Qasim Khan, who had been honoured with the title of *Khan* and the *faujdari* of Patti in the *Majha,* or the central territories, entered into friendly relations with the Sikhs and, with their help, thought of marching upon Lahore and then, with added resources and forces, of attacking the Mughal capital of Delhi and establishing himself there.[7] For this purpose he distributed among the Sikhs muskets, bows and arrows, and other material worth several thousands. But it was all in vain. His soldiers had been long in arrears of pay. They broke into open revolt and handed him over to the Begam, who threw him in prison. Khwaja Mirza Khan had begun his preparations for the occupation of Lahore as soon as he had established himself in the *faujdari* of Eminabad. He was only waiting for a chance, which came to him in December, 1754. Adina Beg Khan of Doaba Bist Jullundur was another aspirant to the government of the Panjab. Then there were the Sikhs. After the death of Mir Muin-ul-Mulk, they had had some breathing-time and begun returning to their villages, from which they had been driven and kept out, off and on, during the last four decades. They had tasted of independence under Banda

6. It is not necessary to go into the details of Mughlani Begam's clandestine love affairs. The pages of the *Tahmas Namah* are replete with pointed references to her notorious connections with a number of people. The inquisitive reader may also refer to the *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 98-9; Ghulam Ali's *Shah Alam Namah,* 26; *Haqiqat-i-Bina -o-Aruj-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan,* 31; *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk,* 120.

7. *Tahmas Namah,* B, 22-3.

Singh in 1710-1715, and were daily singing, at the end of their congregational prayers, of the coming day when "the Khalsa shall reign and no refractory shall prosper."

In this disturbed state of affairs, Mughlani Begam had ruled for about seven months, when towards the end of May, 1754, a disastrous calamity in the death of her son, Muhammad Amin Khan, befell her.[8] With the loss of her son were gone even the last traces of caution and shame and she was hopelessly lost in the pursuit of her pleasures. Although Mir Moman Khan had officially succeeded Muhammad Amin Khan to the government of the Panjab and had received in September, 1754, from Emperor Alamgir II the title of Moman-ud-Daula and the robe of honour,[9] he was only a figure-head. The Begam was the real ruler, who held the power in her own hands and wielded it with the help of her unworthy *eunuchs* like Mian Khush Faham, Mian Arjmand and Mian Muhabbat, who never agreed and always quarrelled among themselves, causing delay and confusion in the affairs of the government. It was about the month of December, 1754, that Mughlani Begam's illicit connections with Bakhshi Ghazi Beg Khan became so notorious that it was an open scandal on the lips of all and sundry Bhikari Khan was then a prisoner in Lahore. He learnt from Khwaja Muhammad Saeed Khan that 'a fissure had appeared in the family honour of the late Nawab' and appealed to him to write immediately to Khwaja Mirza Jan at Eminabad to hasten to Lahore and put an end to that disgraceful state of affairs.

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8 *Tahmas Namah*, B 23 According to the *Delhi Chronicle*, the news of Muhammad Amin Khan's death was reported to the Mughal emperor at Delhi on June 2. Allowing the usual number of days for the news to travel from Lahore to Delhi, it must have taken place about the 25th of May.

9 The *Delhi Chronicle* places the date as either the 16th or the 23rd of September, when 'a six-piece *khillat*, a jewelled *sarpech*, a jewelled *jigha*, standard and kettle-drums, a horse and an elephant, with the title of *Moman-ud-Daulah*' were given to him. A second *khillat* of five pieces was given on October 25 Emperor Alamgir II was placed on the throne of Delhi on June 2, 1754, by Imad-ul-Mulk Shahab-ud-Din Ghazi-ud-Din, who had himself replaced Intizam-ud-Daulah in the office of the *wazir* on the 1st June, 1754.

In a few days Khwaja Mirza Jan arrived at Lahore and assumed its government without any serious opposition. Bhikari Khan and Qasim Khan were set at liberty and the Begam was kept in confinement. But Mughlani Begam was not the woman to surrender her authority so easily. She wrote secret letters to *Imad-ul-Mulk* Ghazi-ud-Din, the new prime minister at Delhi, and to Ahmad Shah Durrani at Qandahar. At the same time, she deputed her maternal uncle, Khwaja Ubedullah Khan, the younger brother of Khan Bahadur Nawab Zakariya Khan, to the Durrani to secure his help in her reinstatement. The Khwaja agreed to undertake this long journey in the hope that he might secure for himself the governorship of the province.[10]

MULLAH AMAN KHAN AT LAHORE

The Shah was sympathetically disposed towards the Begam in her afflictions and ordered Sardar Jahan Khan's brother, Mullah Aman Khan, popularly called Mullah Man, to proceed immediately to Lahore at the head of ten thousand horse and foot drawn from Kabul and Peshawar, with a sprinkling of the Durranis and Qizzilbashes, to re-establish the government of Mughlani Begam and to arrest and despatch Mirza Jan to his presence, alive or dead.

Mullah Aman Khan accompanied Khwaja Ubedullah Khan and arrived in the neighbourhood of Lahore in eleven days. Mirza Jan was stricken with terror on receiving this intelligence. Trembling with fear and ignoring the advice of Bhikari Khan, he sent, in conformity with the suggestion of some of the Mughals, a messenger to Khwaja Ubedullah, saying, "I am a servant and attendant of the late Muin-ul-Mulk. I have so far protected the city of Lahore from the rebels. Now that you have arrived, the country belongs to you. I shall remain as one of your servants. If you grant me my life and faithfully adhere to this promise, I shall come to your presence." This offer was a god-send to the Khwaja and he was pleased to make the promise. He could not, however, fulfil it. The two had an interview, at the end of which Ubedullah told Mirza Jan that, as Mullah Aman was then

10. *Tahmas Namah*, B. 25-7, *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, 122.

the master of the situation, he might see him also. The helpless Mirza went to see the Mullah, who at once made a prisoner of him. Mullah Aman then entered the city and subjected it to an indiscriminate plunder, which was continued practically for about two months. Mughlani Begam was installed as the *subedar*, with Khwaja Ubedullah Khan as her deputy, and Bhikari Khan was handed over to her. The revengeful Begam threw Bhikari Khan again in prison and, there, had him tortured and shoe-beaten to death, saying, "The blood of the two (Muin-ul-Mulk and Muhammad Amin Khan) is on you. This is your punishment for it." This happened about April, 1755.[11]

KHWAJA UBEDULLAH KHAN

Mullah Aman Khan returned to his country, carrying with him, as desired by the Shah, Khwaja Mirza Jan and seven other refractory Mughal Sardars as prisoners. But all this could not bring peace to the Panjab. There, then, began a tug of war between the deputy and the *subedar*—the uncle and the niece. The Begam, not unoften, negatived the authority of Ubedullah Khan in his official work and reduced him to a nonentity. Ubedullah, on the other hand, tried to assert his position. He could not, evidently, be a submissive tool in her hands. He collected fifteen to twenty thousand troops and prepared for a struggle with the Begam who, on her own part, was not unprepared for it and seduced many of her uncle's soldiers. The crisis came in July, 1755. But the *eunuchs* and their servants, who commanded the Begam's contingents, were worsted in the very first encounter. Before the conflict could assume any serious proportions, peace was concluded between them through the mediation of Mir Moman and Hadi Khan, the Afghan envoy at Lahore. Khwaja Ubedullah Khan was allowed to continue in the government,

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11. *Tahmas Namah*, B 27, *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 125, *Tarikh-i-Ali* 240, Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan* 72-3, *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 896.

while the Begam was deprived of her position and conveyed to the house of her mother.[12]

Khwaja Ubedullah Khan now became the undisputed master of Lahore. But he proved to be a tyrant. In his unlimited greed for money, he plundered his own subjects and the citizens of Lahore under many pretences. His rule, however, lasted for not more than a few months, and he was replaced by Sayyad Jamil-ud-Din, a nominee of Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din.

MUGHLANI BEGAM CALLS IN HELP FROM DELHI

The Begam had been in correspondence with Ghazi-ud-Din since her deposition by Mirza Jan. But, evidently, as she had not been able to fulfil her late husband's promise with regard to the marriage of her daughter, Umda Begam, with him, Ghazi-ud-Din had withheld from her the help of his government. Her difficulty in this matter, on the other hand, was that the hand of Umda Begam had also been promised by her father in March-April, 1752, to Prince Taimur, son of Ahmad Shah Durrani. As she was then beseeching the Shah's help against Mirza Jan and was, later on, maintained in power by his support, she could ill afford to displease him. But the position had then changed. Ubedullah Khan had been appointed deputy governor of Lahore by the Shah himself and was being kept in power, against her will, by the Durrani Resident, Hadi Khan. She could, therefore, look for help only to the court of Delhi and readily agreed to give Umda Begam in marriage to the *wazir*. Ghazi-ud-Din also was then free from political engagements at the capital and could turn his attention to the Panjab, which he coveted most. On the 12th of Rabi-us-Sani, 1169 A.H., January 15, 1756 A.D., Ghazi-ud-Din left Delhi for Ambala, and, passing through that town, arrived in the neighbourhood of Sirhind on the 7th of February. At this stage, Adina Beg Khan of Doaba Bist Jullun-

12. *Tahmas Namah*, B. 27-8; *Khazanah-i-Amira;* 99; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 896. According to Mittar Sen's *Daur Namah*, Ghazi-ud-Din desired the Begam to go to Delhi for the marriage, while the Begam insisted on Ghazi-ud-Din's coming to Lahore for the purpose. p. 34.

dur wrote to him not to advance beyond Sirhind but only detail under a eunuch a small party of two or three thousand, which he would himself strengthen with a force of ten thousand men under Sadiq Beg Khan. He also assured him that he would help him capture Lahore by a stratagem. Ghazi-ud-Din availed himself of the services of Hakeem Ibadullah Khan Attar,[13] who successfully pleaded the cause of Adina Beg and said: "The moment you cross the river, the Begam will fly away to Qandahar, carrying away all her treasure, and, with promises of wealth, persuade Ahmad Shah Abdali and bring him this side." Ghazi-ud-Din accepted the proposal and left the expedition of Lahore in the hands of Adina Beg Khan. With Sadiq Beg Khan and the *eunuch* Nasim Khan, Adina Beg hurriedly reached Lahore and accomplished the object in view without firing a shot. The force triumphantly marched through the city and paid their respects to the Begam. Then they called on Khwaja Ubedullah Khan, who honoured them with *khillats*, presents etc., according to their positions. Fearful in his heart, however, of treachery on the part of Adina Beg Khan, who might later on take him a prisoner, the Khwaja left the city at night and fled away to the safer hills of Jammu. The Begam, once again, in February, 1756, became the ruler of the Panjab, with Sadiq Beg Khan as her deputy, though for not more than a month.

THE BEGAM AND HER DAUGHTER CARRIED TO DELHI

According to the *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, Umda Begam, the daughter of Mughlani Begam and the fiancee of the *wazir*, was then already staying with Adina Beg Khan at Jalalabad, having been sent there by her mother with the idea of keeping her at a safe distance from the disturbed atmosphere of Lahore. The Begam then hurriedly completed her preparations for Umda's dowry and sent her to the *wazir's* camp at Sirhind, where she arrived on the 4th of March, 1756.[14]

13. This name is also mentioned as Hakeem Abdullah Khan.

14. *Tahmas Namah*, 30-1; *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, 112-16; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 66, 69; *Delhi Chronicle*, respective entries; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 897-8; *Haqiqat-i-Bina-o-Aruj-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan*, 31. According to the *Khazanah-i-Amira*, the cause of Ubedullah Khan's flight from Lahore was the lack of troops and money, p. 99.

Ghazi-ud-Din soon learnt all about Mughlani Begam's private life. She was his maternal aunt and was to become his mother-in-law. It was disgraceful, he felt, to allow her to continue to reside in Lahore with unbridled liberty of action. Her immediate removal from there was considered imperative. He, therefore, detailed Sayyad Jamil-ud-Din Khan, Nisar Muhammad Khan *Sher-i-Jang, Hakeem* Ibadullah Khan and Khwaja Saadat-yar Khan to Adina Beg Khan desiring him to despatch the Begam also to his camp. Adina Beg Khan readily agreed to the proposal. Sayyad Jamil-ud-Din Khan and Nisar Muhammad Khan reached Lahore by a hurried march and flung a surprise upon her. Mounted on an elephant, she was carried to the wazir's camp near Machhiwara, where she arrived on the 28th of March, 1756. Mir Moman Khan was again appointed the *subedar* of the province. But, as usual, he only remained a figure-head, and the real power rested in the hands of his energetic deputy, Sayyad Jamil-ud-Din, the favourite of Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din. It was, at this stage, suggested by Rajah Nagar Mall that Lahore might be occupied, and the active co-operation of the various chiefs and *rajahs* be secured on the Mughal side to eliminate the fear of a Durrani invasion. This did not, however, appeal to the wazir who, before his departure for the capital, bestowed the Panjab upon Adina Beg Khan for an annual tribute of thirty lakhs of rupees. With the Begam in his camp, the wazir left for Delhi early in May, 1756, arriving there on the 21st of Shawwal, 1169 A.H., July 19, 1756.[15]

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15. *Tahmas Namah*, B. 33-35; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 69b-70a, 75a; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 116-8, 126; *Delhi Chronicle*, respective dates; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 52; *Ma'asir-ul-Umra*, ii. 852; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 103; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 52; Kalyan Singh, *Khulasa-tu-Tawarikh*, 64.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FOURTH INVASION OF INDIA

THE PANJAB AND DELHI AFFAIRS

UBEDULLAH AND BEGAM APPEALED TO THE SHAH

Khwaja Ubedullah Khan, as we know, had fled to the hills of Jammu on the arrival of Adina Beg Khan's forces at Lahore in February, 1756. There was no possibility of his returning to Lahore under the changed circumstances, except with the help of the Durrani arms. He, therefore, hastened to Qandahar to appraise Ahmad Shah Durrani of the political upheavals in the Panjab; how his authority had been flouted by Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din and how Umda Begam, the daughter of Muin-ul-Mulk, promised to his son, had been carried away to Delhi.[1] At the same time petitions were received from Mughlani Begam, appealing for help against the high-handedness of the *wazir*. She also wrote a heart-rending letter to Sardar Jahan Khan, and appealed to his sense of honour, saying, "It is a matter for pity and wonder that while a Rustam and an Asfand Yar of the day like you is alive, I should be subjected to such a tyranny and abject disgrace. May I hope that, with all the affectionate regard that you have for me, you will not, for long, tolerate the disgraceful helplessness under which I am suffering, and will do your utmost to effect my release and punish the evil-minded miscreants."[2]

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1. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 79b-80a, *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 113-14

2. *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 114-18; *Haqiqat-i-Bina-o-Aruj-i-Sikhan*, 27; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 248; *Tahmas Namah*, B. 35, 62a. According to Ali-ud-Din, the Begam is said to have written to the Shah as follows: "To my knowledge, *karors* of rupees in cash and kind lie buried in the *haveli* of my late father-in-law in Delhi and all the joints of the ceilings are full of gold and silver. Ghazi-ud-Din, Emperor Alamgir II, and the ministers are all disunited. If Your Majesty were to come down to the Panjab and India at this time, the empire of India, with its wealth of *karors*, will fall into your possession without any opposition.' p. 248.

EXCHANGE OF ENVOYS

From his camp in the neighbourhood of Sirhind, Ghazi-ud-Din had also sent an envoy, Elich Khan, on a friendly mission to the Shah, but Jahan Khan had detained him at Kabul, waiting for the royal pleasure. The Shah, in the meantime, arrived at Ghazni and summoned the Mughal envoy to his presence. He granted audience to Elich Khan, received the letters of Alamgir II and his *wazir* and dismissed him after a few formal enquiries. It was here that he received the woeful petitions of Mughlani Begam, which added fuel to the fire of the Shah's fury already set ablaze by Khwaja Ubedullah Khan's representations. Elich Khan, who stayed in the camp for about two months, had not been allowed to depart as yet. The Shah called him to his presence and said, "The *wazir* had sent you on a friendly mission and to renew the treaty to that effect! Now that he has violated the old treaty, the truth is on our side." He was then given a *khillat* and permitted to return to Delhi. At the same time the Shah detailed Qalandar Khan to proceed to the Mughal court with Elich Khan. The two envoys arrived at Delhi towards the end of October, 1756.[3]

Qalandar Khan was lodged in the royal Shalamar garden, and Amanullah Khan and Baqi Beg Khan Balakhi were appointed his hosts. He had his first interview with the Wazir on the 29th of October, 1756, and was received by Emperor Alamgir II on the 6th of Safar, 1170, A.H., October 31. On the 9th of Safar, Qalandar Khan presented seven horses to the Emperor and four to Ghazi-ud-Din. He was again received on the 29th of Safar, November 23, and was given his *conge* on the 16th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, December 9, without any satisfactory reply.[4]

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3. *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 154-5, 166; *Delhi Chronicle.*

4. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 80a-81b, 84a; *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 156-7. The latter places the first meeting of Qalandar Khan with Alamgir and Ghazi-ud-Din on the 27th of Muharram, 1170 A.H., October 22, 1756, and says that on the following day, October 23, Qalandar Khan handed the Shah's letter to other Indian nobles such as Najib-ud-Daulah, p. 156-7.

JANGBAZ KHAN DESPATCHED TO LAHORE

Moved by the supplications and touching appeals of Khwaja Ubedullah Khan and Mughlani Begam, the Shah on his arrival at Kabul had, in the meantime, detailed an army for Lahore under Jangbaz Khan. Khwaja Mirza Jan, who had been carried away as a prisoner to Qandahar by Mullah Amanullah Khan and had since become a favourite of the Shah, was also allowed to accompany the expeditionary force. Reinforced by Abdus Samad Khan Muhammadzei of Hashtnagar, the Durrani army of Jangbaz Khan crossed the Indus and entered the Panjab. No opposition was offered to them and they arrived in the neighbourhood of Lahore without firing a shot. Sayyad Jamil-ud-Din had applied to Adina Beg Khan for reinforcement, but the latter dared not risk a battle with the Durranis. On the other hand, he advised the Sayyad to leave Lahore and retire to the Doaba of Bist Jullundur. This done, Jangbaz Khan occupied the city of Lahore on the 25th of November, 1756. Khwaja Ubedullah Khan was then reinstated as the governor of Lahore and Mirza Jan Khan was appointed his deputy. There was then a great panic in the city and the well-to-do residents fled to places of safety in the hills. Adina Beg himself despatched all his treasure and valuables to the inaccessible Lakhi Jungle and was ready to fly away at a moment's notice. The Hill Rajas were dejected at the timidity of Adina Beg Khan and quietly made for their mountainous territories.[5]

SHAH LEFT FOR INDIA

Soon after Jangbaz Khan's departure from Kabul, the Shah had also left for India. In addition to the petitions of Mughlani Begam, he had received an invitation from Najib Khan (Najib-ud-Daulah), and even from Emperor Alamgir II himself. Malika Zamani and other ladies of the Royal Mughal *haram* had been reduced to extremities, and not unoften to actual starvation at the hands of Wazir

5. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 80a; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 171. Cf. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii 62, 82. According to Sarkar, Lahore was occupied on the 4th of October, 1756.

Ghazi-ud-Din. And, as their entreaties failed to move him, they sought the help of Najib-ud-Daulah. After mutual consultations it was decided to appeal to His Afghan Majesty. Najib-ud-Daulah sent his own brother Sultan Khan to invite the Shah to come to India immediately with a large force.[6] "In this country," wrote Najib-ud-Daulah, "I have gathered round myself twenty-five thousand Afghans. I have also persuaded forty thousand of the Afghans from the other side of the river Ganges for your service. You may come without any hesitation or fear. Imad-ul-Mulk (Ghazi-ud-Din) is not strong enough to oppose you. I am his chief supporter. Now that I have become obedient to you, there is no one left there (to help him)."[7]

From Peshawar the Shah despatched an advance army under Jahan Khan, with prince Taimur as the Commander-in-Chief, to drive away Adina Beg Khan and clear the country of his supporters. Crossing the Indus, Taimur fixed his camp at Hasan Abdal (Panja Sahib) and sent forward his men to Gujrat to collect food and fodder for the advancing armies. From Hasan Abdal, Jahan Khan marched against the rich town of Eminabad, drove away its *faujdar* and subjected it to plunder. He then made for Batala and occupied it, while another detachment of his reduced Adina Nagar to subjection.[8]

NO OPPOSITION OFFERED—THE SHAH AT LAHORE

After a few days' halt at Peshawar, the Shah resumed his march on the 15th of November. On his arrival at the

6. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, ii. 387

7. Nur-ud-Din, *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 14b; Francklin, *Shah-Aulum*, 5; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 166-68; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 255-56 'The King, who was raised to the throne only as an instrument of Gazooddeen Cawn's ambition, was kept by him in a state of most slavish dependence, being surrounded by the vizir's creatures, and not allowed to stir out without his leave. In order to extricate himself from such a confinement, he privately wrote to Abdalee, desiring him to come to his assistance. Invitations were sent him at the same time by Mansur Allee Cawn, the Jauts, and the Rohillas.'—Francklin, *Shah-Aulum*, 4-5.

8. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 84b, 85a, *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 172; Sarkar, ii. 63.

Indus, he received further petitions from Khan-i-Khanan Intizam-ud-Daulah, Mughlani Begam, Abdul Ahad Khan, and from Shah Fana *faqir*, who acted as the Shah's spy at Delhi. Crossing the river at Attock, the Shah moved to Lahore on the 27th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1170 A.H., December 20, 1756. Adina Beg Khan then had his headquarters at Jalalabad on the bank of the river Beas, about 22 miles to the south-east of Amritsar, and about three miles to the north-east of the ferry of Vairowal. Having cleared Batala and Adina Nagar (December 13) of Adina Beg and Jamil-ud-Din's men, Jahan Khan pushed southwards to Jalalabad. Adina durst not give him battle. He quietly crossed the Beas before Jahan Khan could establish his contact with him and went to Nur Mahal. As this place was on Jahan Khan's way to Sirhind and he was pushing on towards it, Adina Beg took to south-westerly direction, crossed the Sutlej near Tihara (four miles to the west of Sidhwan) and slipped into the waterless desert of Hansi and Hissar.[9] It was reported to the Shah at Lahore that Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu had prepared himself for war against the Afghans and had retired from Lahore only when Sayyad Jamil-ud-Din had found himself incapable of resisting them. He, therefore, ordered an army of ten thousand to proceed against him. Ranjit Dev, however, offered no serious resistance. Jahan Khan had, in the meantime, occupied the Jullundur Doab, plundered the town of Nur Mahal and slaughtered its inhabitants. The Shah granted the government of Lahore to Khwaja Mirza Jan and that of the Jullundur Doab to Khwaja Ubedullah, while the hill country between the Sutlej and the Ravi was given to Raja Ghumand Chand of Kangra.[10]

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9. Rajwade, *Marathianchiya Itihasachin Sadhanen*, Vol. VI, letter No. 365; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 85b; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 52, 99; *Ma'asir-ul-Umra*, 852; *Delhi Chronicle; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 541.

10. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 88b; Rajwade, vi. 356; Purser, *Jullundur Settlement Report*, 29; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 366; *Kangra District Gazetteer* (1883-4), 38; Pohlo Ram's Translation of Mr. Barnes' *Report*, para 53.

THE SHAH MARCHED TOWARDS DELHI

Towards the end of December, 1756, one Sardar Hasan Khan was detailed by the Shah to march upon Sirhind, with orders for Jahan Khan to cover his rear and to reinforce him in time of need. Crossing the Sutlej, Hasan Khan made straight for Sirhind, which had been vacated by its inhabitants, and occupied it. Jahan Khan arrived near that city about the 5th of January, 1757, and then pushed forward towards Delhi, through Karnal and Panipat. The Shah himself left Lahore early in January, crossed the Sutlej about the 10th and marched towards Delhi.[11]

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS AT DELHI

There had been a great consternation in the capital of the Mughal empire ever since the news of the march of Ahmad Shah Durrani to India reached there in October, 1756, followed by the visit of his envoy, Qalandar Khan. The Wazir, Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk, was trembling with fear and did not know what to do. 'The disbandment of the *Sindagh risala* had left him utterly without troops, except for a few hundred men under Bahadur Khan Baluch.' He could not look for help to Intizam-ud-Daulah, whom he had himself displaced. Shujah-ud-Daulah, son of Safdar Jang, was also not favourably inclined towards the Wazir. Najib-ud-Daulah Ruhila had secretly allied himself with the Shah and worried the Wazir for the payment of three months' wages of his troops due to them. This resulted in the exchange of hot words between the two on the 3rd of November, 1756 (Safar 9, 1170 A.H.). On the 14th of Safar, November 8, Najib-ud-Daulah went to the Wazir with a large force and, on return, plundered five or six shops attached to the Wazir's camp, and no one opposed him.

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11. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii. 64, 82-3; Rajwade, vi. 365; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 86b. According to the *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya*, 184-88, Ahmad Shah himself went to Jammu and marched to Ambala via Hoshiarpur, massacring the Sikhs wherever he found them on his way. 'The land was cleared of them [Sikhs] in such a way that even their bones were reduced to dust. Not one man of the Nanak-worshippers was left alive All men were killed. Only women remained.'

The Wazir next turned to Suraj Mall Jat of Bharatpur but he could not agree to the Jat's proposal to first lead an expedition against the Marathas, to confine them to the south of the Narbada, and then, with the combined forces of the Jats, Rajputs, Ruhilas and others, to march into the Panjab to expel the Afghans. The Marathas were his friends and he could not afford to alienate them at a time when the Durrani was knocking at his door. But he could not at the same time enlist their active co-operation against the invader for want of courage to spend money for the troops.[12]

DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS OF GHAZI-UD-DIN

Unable to organize any defence and finding himself helpless against the Shah, Ghazi-ud-Din found refuge in diplomatic negotiations with him. On the 27th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1170 A.H., December 20, 1756, he sent off Agha Raza Khan with presents worth two lakhs of rupees to the Shah to persuade him to give up his intention of marching upon Delhi. At that time arrived the news that the Afghans had already taken possession of the Panjab, that Adina Beg Khan and his supporters and allies had been driven off and that Jahan Khan was marching towards Delhi. The people of the capital became panicky and began to fly away to places of safety. Mathura, in the territory of Suraj Mall Jat, became the favourite resort of the Hindus.[13]

On the 2nd of Rabi-us-Sani, December 25, the Wazir called Khan-i-Khanan Intizam-ud-Daulah, Zia-ud-Daulah Khan-i-Saman, Jalal-ud-Daulah, Babu Pandit Maratha and some other *amirs* to his house for a conference. They were all of the opinion that they should march out, with the Emperor at their head, to oppose the Durranis, and Jalal-ud-Daulah was sent to the Emperor to arrange for the despatch of his *pesh-khaima,* or camp-equipage. On the midnight of Sunday, the 26th of December, eleven elephants and eleven camels loaded with the equipage were sent out to Katra Mahaldar Khan, about three *kos* from the city. On the evening of the meeting, Saturday, the 25th of December,

12. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 81b, 83b, 84a; Sarkar, ii. 84-85.
13. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 85a-b.

Ghazi-ud-Din himself went to the camp of Najib-ud-Daulah, appealed to him for help and dissuaded him from marching away to Saharanpur as he had planned to do. But nothing had been done to collect troops and artillery. Effective opposition to the Shah, therefore, was out of the question. Ghazi-ud-Din then, on the 6th of Rabi-us-Sani, December 29, presented to Emperor Alamgir, Yaqub Ali Khan, a cousin of the Durrani Minister Shah Wali Khan, then residing in India, to be honoured as a 6-*hazari* and sent him to Ahmad Shah in company with Shah Fana, a *faqir,* to induce him not to invade the Mughal capital and to return to his country taking some money for his expenses. "Should he not return, the daughter of Emperor Muhammad Shah should be offered to his son."[14]

But the news, received the same day, that the Afghan sardar, Hasan Khan, had taken possession of Sirhind, worsened the situation in Delhi, and even high officials like Zia-ud-Daulah attempted to send away their families. The Wazir ordered a Maratha officer, Antaji Manakeshwar, to stop the flight of the panic-stricken people and to bar their path south of Delhi. This further added to the miseries of the unfortunate fugitives, who were, in most cases, relieved of their money and belongings by the Maratha soldiers. Not only this. The Jats had a number of octroi posts from Badarpur to Mathura. At all of them heavy toll was levied on the poor immigrants. In spite of it, Mathura was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find any accommodation. And thefts became very common.[15]

MUGHLANI BEGAM AS ENVOY

Ghazi-ud-Din seems to have been hopeful up to the 9th of January, 1757 (Rabi-us-Sani 17), that his envoys, particularly Yaqub Ali Khan and Shah Fana, would succeed in dissuading Ahmad Shah from coming to Delhi. But when he heard on that day that the Shah had already left Lahore for Delhi, crossed the river Beas and arrived near the Sutlej, while his vanguard under Sardar Jahan Khan had come as

14. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 86a-b; Rajwade, VI 365.
15. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 87a-88a; *Delhi Chronicle.*

far as Sirhind, he was greatly alarmed and became very apprehensive for his future. It was suggested to him that as all that was mostly due to the removal of Mughlani Begam from Lahore, whom the Shah had called his own daughter, the danger of his invasion could be averted if she could be appeased by solemn promises and sent to him as an envoy. Ghazi-ud-Din had no other alternative. So far he had treated her with contempt, neglected her daughter and kept her under strict surveillance. Reduced to helplessness, however, he abjectly entreated and induced her to proceed to the camp of the invader and to persuade him by all possible methods to desist from the threatening invasion. It was reported on the morning of the 19th of Rabi-us-Sani, January 11, that she had set out towards the Panjab in the afternoon of the 10th of January for discussing the terms of peace.[16]

She arrived at Sonepat on the same date at about 10 p.m. and despatched, early in the following morning at about 4 a.m., two of her messengers, Tahmas Khan (the author of the *Tahmas Namah*) and Ghulam Shah, in advance, with letters for the Shah, his minister Shah Wali Khan and Sardar Jahan Khan. The Begam overtook the messengers at Panipat, where she received letters from Jahan Khan to say that he had arrived at Karnal. She then directed her messengers to accompany Jahan Khan's *harkarah* and they arrived at Karnal before sunset. Jahan Khan immediately detailed four of his Sardars with one hundred sawars to go in advance to receive the Begam, who arrived in the camp at about 10 o'clock the following morning (January 12, 1757 A.D.).

Mughlani Begam had a short interview with Jahan Khan, who moved forward towards Panipat and left a few men at Karnal to look to the arrangements of the Shah's encampment. The Shah arrived there in the afternoon. The Begam fixed her *dera* near that of Shah Wali Khan and explained to him the object of her mission. She was received by Ahmad Shah on the following day at Panipat. After some talk the Shah said, "You should have come to Lahore and told me all

16. *Tahmas Namah*, 62a-63a; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 89a; *Delhi Chronicle*. According to the *Delhi Chronicle*, she left Delhi at midnight of the 10th of January. I have followed the *Tahmas Namah*.

this, and I could have gone back from there. Now that I have come within forty *kos* of Shahjahanabad (Delhi), it is not wise for me to go back without seeing the city of Delhi and the *Badshah* of India." He then wrote down a few soothing letters, including one calling upon the Wazir to come to his presence, and handed them over to the Begam for despatch to Delhi. She made them over to Tahmas Khan, with a separate confidential note for the Wazir (sewn up in the cap of the messenger and explained to him personally) that if he had not the strength to fight, he should remove himself from Delhi to some place of safety or he would land himself in trouble.[17]

SHAH'S TERMS

The Shah had at Sirhind dismissed the Delhi envoy, Agha Raza Khan, with the following terms on which peace could be concluded:

i. a sum of two *karor* rupees be paid in cash to the Shah;
ii. the hand of the Emperor's daughter be given in marriage; and
iii. all the territories from Sirhind north-west-wards (including the Panjab, Kashmir and Multan) be ceded to him.

Agha Raza arrived at Delhi with these terms on the 22nd of Rabi-us-Sani, January 14. The Emperor, Alamgir II, and his Wazir, Ghazi-ud-Din, were then in a helpless state. They could neither fight nor accept these terms. The ransom was too heavy for them to raise. The envoy was, therefore, sent back again to the Shah to entreat him to give up his intention of marching upon Delhi.[18]

JAHAN KHAN MARCHED UPON DELHI

But it was then too late. Jahan Khan, as we know, had left for Panipat on the 12th of January. While a detachment had pushed on towards Delhi, supported in the rear by Shah Wali Khan, Jahan Khan himself crossed the Jamuna

17. *Tahmas Namah*, 62a-64b
18. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 90b.

near Panipat and entered the Doab. He had, evidently, been informed of the presence of a Maratha force in that territory. It was, therefore, necessary for him to secure the eastern bank of the river to guard against the Marathas disturbing and harassing the Shah's rear. He had by the 15th of January, when Agha Raza Khan was sent to the Shah a second time, established his outposts at Kairana, Jhanjhana, Shamli and Kandhla, driving out the Maratha collectors from these places and slaying the governor of Shamli, who had offered resistance. While Jahan Khan arrived at Luni on the eastern bank of the Jamuna on the 15th of January, Shah Wali Khan arrived near Sarai Mihr-Parwar.

SKIRMISH WITH THE MARATHAS

On the morning of the 24th of Rabi-us-Sani, January 16, the army of Jahan Khan marched from Luni and in the afternoon appeared opposite the capital on the other side of the river and were seen by the Emperor from his palace, and by other people from the Diwan-i-Khas in the fort. The main army under the Shah and Shah Wali Khan came to Narela and fixed their camp there. It was somewhere near Narela that Antaji Manakeshwar, a Maratha officer, came to grips with the skirmishers of Shah Wali Khan, but was easily pushed back with a loss of about one hundred men and horses.[19]

NAJIB-UD-DAULAH JOINS THE AFGHANS

Ghazi-ud-Din on the 15th of January had, for the first time, urged the raising of a rampart round the city. He also appealed to Najib-ud-Daulah on the following day to oppose the advance of Ahmad Shah towards Delhi and to give him at least one battle. Najib, in reply demanded two *karors* of rupees, and, at the same time, entered into secret negotiations with Jahan Khan. On the 17th, the Wazir planted a few guns (*rahkalas*) on the bank of Rajghat, apparently, to oppose the passage of Jahan Khan. But there was no cannonier. At the same place Babu Ram Khatri, a nephew of Diwan Lakhpat Rai of Lahore, met the Wazir and conveyed

19. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 91a-92a; *Tahmas Namah*, 65a.

to him the same message of the Shah, as previously delivered by Agha Raza. All his friends and advisers, with the exception of Ibadullah Khan Kashmiri, counselled him to take courage and to fight, at least at one point to remove from their foreheads the blot of disgraceful cowardice. But nothing would appeal to that shameless embodiment of timidity. He quietly retired to Bagh-i-Si-Hazari and sat brooding over the treachery of Najib-ud-Daulah, who openly went over the same evening to Jahan Khan for mutual consultation and returned to execute his unpatriotic designs.[20]

SURRENDER OF GHAZI-UD-DIN

The force under Shah Wali Khan, as we know, had arrived near Sarai Mihr-Parwar, near Badli, on the 15th of January, while Ahmad Shah had fixed his camp a few miles behind him. On the morning of the 26th of Rabi-us-Sani, January 18, the Shah dismissed the Delhi envoys, Agha Raza Khan and Yaqub Khan, with the message desiring the Mughal Emperor Alamgir II and his Wazir, Ghazi-ud-Din, to visit him personally so that the terms of peace might be discussed.[21]

Early in the morning of the 27th of Rabi-us-Sani, January 19, Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din Asafjah, accompanied by Khan-i-Khanan, Bahadur Khan Baluch and Ibadullah Khan Kashmiri, set out to see Ahmad Shah. He was received by Shah Wali Khan near Sarai Mihr-Parwar, where a friendly conversation took place between the two wazirs. Both of them then set out for the Shah's camp near Sonepat where they spent the night. Next morning, January 20, the Shah moved to Narela and encamped in the direction of Delhi. It was here that the Shah granted audience to Ghazi-ud-Din. "You were the prime minister of India. How is it that you did not fight?" enquired the Shah. "Najib Khan was the commander-in-chief," replied Ghazi-ud-Din, "and he has joined the Shah. Excepting him, there was no commander with any army. I told him to give at least one battle, but he would not agree. Without my knowledge he

20. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 92b; Samin, *Tarikh dar Halat-i-Ahmad Shah Abdali*, 12; *Delhi Chronicle*.

21. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 92b.

came to Your Majesty's camp. Whence, then, could I find an army and fight?" The talk then turned to Ghazi's disregard for Umda Begam, the nobly-born daughter of Muin-ul-Mulk and Mughlani Begam, as compared to his marriage with Gunna Begam, the daughter of Ali Quli Khan, the six-fingered, by a courtesan. "The Begam," said Ghazi-ud-Din, "had taken an oath from me, written on the cover of the Quran, that I would not marry another woman *after* marrying her daughter. The daughter of Ali Quli Khan had also been betrothed to me. The relations of Ali Quli Khan had given her to Shujah-ud-Daulah. Therefore, to be true to the promise, I married her *first* so that the oath might not be broken."[22]

Turning to the business of the government, the Shah observed that Khan-i-Khanan Intizam-ud-Daulah had offered to him two karors of rupees within twenty days, if the office of the *wazir* were given to him and that the rescript, or *sanad*, for it was ready, but if Ghazi promised to pay only half of that amount, he would be allowed to continue in that position. Ghazi-ud-Din expressed his inability to raise so large an amount. He could not, he said, collect as many broken pebble-stones in Delhi, to say nothing of rupees. "How much treasure have you got in your house?" enquired the Shah. "Fourteen thousand rupees in cash and four lakhs in jewels, goods, silver-plate, etc.," replied Ghazi-ud-Din. The Shah ordered him to deposit all that in the Afghan treasury and sent him along with his prime minister, Shah Wali Khan. The latter tried to persuade him to meet the Shah's demand to retain for himself the high office. But as Ghazi persisted in his attitude, the *sanad* of wazirship was sent to Intizam-ud-Daulah. The Shah, at the same time, ordered that Ghazi's wife, Gunna Begam, the daughter of Ali Quli Khan, be despatched to Balkh, and, for that purpose, she was immediately removed to the camp at Badli. A little later, Najib-ud-Daulah also came in from his camp at Wazirabad and made his

22. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 92b-93a; *Tahmas Namah*, 65a-b; Samin, 12.

formal obedience. The Shah was pleased to receive him, honoured him with a costly robe and entrusted to him, on his own behalf, the care and administration of the capital.[23]

With the abject surrender of the Wazir and the defenceless state of the capital, and with only a nominal emperor in the fort of Delhi, the Mughal empire lay prostrate at the feet of the Afghan. The panicky citizens were fleeing from their homes in search of safety, while the opportunist adventurers looked forward to chances of loot and plunder. The Shah, therefore, on the same day, January 20, ordered five of his *nasaqchis,* or provosts, to proceed to the city. Faulad Khan, the *kotwal,* seated them on the platform of the kotwali so that none should molest the poor. This had the desired effect and many people returned to their houses.

Jahan Khan crossed to the Delhi side of the Jamuna at the Khizrabad Ghat on Friday, the 29th of Rabi-us-Sani, January 21. An effort had been made by him to close the passage (*naka*) of Faridabad but his force was pushed back by the Jats of Suraj Mall and the Marathas under Antaji Manakeshwar. It was the first Friday since the arrival of the Shah in the neighbourhood of the capital. At the time of the *Juma* prayers, the self-seeking native sycophants, Abdul Ahad Khan, the third *bakhshi,* and Saif-ud-Din Muhammad Khan Kashmiri, went to the mosque of the late Raushan-ud-Daulah, called the *Sadr-ul-Sadur,* the *Qazi,* and the *muftis* of their own accord and caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani. The same thing was repeated in the Jame Masjid. "Of the learned men and accomplished theologians," says the author of the *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,*" none refused to read the *khutba* on the plea that the Emperor (*badshah-i-waqt*) was still living in the fort and had not been captured, killed or driven out by any one." Alamgir heard of this news in the *Tasbeeh Khana,* took it as a foreboding of his fall from power and, on receipt of a message from Abdul Ahad Khan, vacated the royal

23. Samin, *Halat-i-Ahmad Shah Abdali,* 13-14; *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-mulk,* 208; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 92b-93

chambers and moved with his family and relations to inferior quarters.[24]

AHMAD SHAH RETAINS ALAMGIR ON THE THRONE OF DELHI

Preparations for the occupation of the fort by the Shah began with all seriousness on the 1st of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1170 A.H., January 22, 1757. The Shah arrived at Wazirabad on the 23rd of January, and on the following day Jahan Khan entered the fort of Delhi to supervise the arrangements for his entry. The leading nobles and dignitaries of the Mughal empire paid their respects to the Afghan conqueror during the period of three days, 23rd to 25th of January. As he had no intention of occupying the throne of Delhi himself, several suggestions were made to him for the installation of the future emperor of India. The *amirs* like Khan-i-Khanan and Abdul Ahad Khan wished the son of the late emperor Ahmad Shah to be seated on the throne, while others, in view of his tender age, put forward the name of Acche Sahib, brother of Muhammad Shah. The Shah, however, was not willing to dethrone Alamgir II for no fault of his. "None of these proposals appeals to me," said the Shah, "Alamgir is already on the throne, and has done nothing to be dethroned and replaced. The reins of the government were not in his hands. It was, in fact, the Wazir who had entered into a treaty with me, using merely the name of the Emperor. He cannot, therefore, be accused of being faithless to the terms of the treaty. I would, as such, confirm and maintain the same Emperor in the *saltanat* of Hindustan."[25] This decided, the Shah sent, on the night of January 25-26, Jamadi-ul-Awwal 5, Sardar Jahan Khan and Mir Yahiya Khan *darvesh* (son of Nawab Zakariya Khan of Lahore) to Emperor Alamgir with the message: "I bestow on you the *saltanat* of Hindustan. Come and see me tomorrow morning in royal dignity." Jahan Khan spent the night with the *nazir*, Roz-Afzun Khan, while Yahiya Khan went to his own house.

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24. *Delhi Chronicle; Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 93b-94a; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 208.

25. *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 209-10; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 95a; *Delhi Chronicle*.

Early next morning the Emperor, accompanied by Mir Yahiya Khan, Samsam-ud-Daulah *Mir Bakhshi* and Sayyad Niaz Khan, and escorted by Sardar Jahan Khan, set out for the Shah's camp at Wazirabad. Shah Wali Khan, Asafjah Nizam-ul-Mulk and Khan-i-Khanan received him at some distance from the camp. His Afghan Majesty welcomed the Mughal Emperor, seated him on a *masnad* near his own and, after the usual enquiries, congratulated him saying: "May the throne of the empire of India be auspicious and blissful to you, my brother. I am only a guest of yours for a few days." The two then had a friendly talk and dined together. In the course of conversation, Alamgir complained of the misbehaviour of Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din and desired the Shah either to put him to death, or to throw him into prison or carry him to Afghanistan. "Now that he has been pardoned and his life spared," said the Shah, "it is ungraceful for great kings to go back upon their words. I can do no harm to his life. God willing, he shall do nothing in future against your wishes. Should he, however, through misfortune, turn disobedient to you, he shall immediately meet his deserts." The two then exchanged their turbans as a mark of permanent friendship, and the Shah presented to Alamgir a rich dress of honour, consisting of gold embriodered cap with a jewelled aigrette, a plume of eagle-feathers, an embroidered cloak and a tray full of gold. A *khillat* was, at the same time, bestowed upon the new *wazir,* Intizam-ud-Daulah who was, thus, formally appointed the first officer of the state. Alamgir and his court returned to Delhi the same evening.[26]

SHAH ENTERED THE ROYAL FORT OF DELHI

Jahan Khan went to the Emperor on the 27th of January, summoned the *Kotwal,* Faulad Khan, to his presence and told him that the Shah would enter the fort the next day. Along his route through the bazar it should be so arranged, said the Khan, that no Indian should stand either in the bazaar or on the terraces of the houses. The *Kotwal* proclaimed this by the beat of drum. On Friday, the 7th of Jamadi-ul-Awwal,

26. *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 211-13; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 95a-97a.

January 28, Ahmad Shah left his camp at Wazirabad and set out for the Mughal fort of Delhi. Alamgir received him at the Fatehpuri mosque and his entry into the city was proclaimed by the firing of guns. The citizens ran into their houses and hid themselves in their underground chambers. Not a soul stirred out, and not a sound was heard from any house; and the busiest of the cities in India presented the sight of a deserted town. Such was the terror struck in the hearts of people! But the day passed off quietly and the people heaved a sigh of relief. The Shah and his *haram* occupied the royal chambers vacated by the Mughal Emperor, while his army dismounted and fixed their camp round the moat of the fort. The Afghan escort dispersed into the bazaars and lanes of the city, looting many places and setting fire to the colony of Mandi Badalpura in the suburbs.[27]

The first thing that the Shah did on the following day, the 8th of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, January 29, was to issue a proclamation for the protection of the city. He told his *nasaqchi-bashi,* chief of the bodyguard, Za'fran Khan to announce: "I have granted peace and protection to the residents of the city. No one shall be harassed or molested by any one from the army. No house shall be sacked and no one taken a captive. No girl or woman shall be married without her consent. Whoso-ever is found to be an aggressor shall be duly punished." Za'fran Khan immediately posted *nasaqchis* on all the roads leading to the city and made the necessary arrangements for the safety of the capital. The frightened citizens returned to their houses and provided the guards with rice, ghee, meat of lambs and sheep, and curdled milk for their meals. With all these precautions, a few cases of loot by the Mughal foragers in the houses outside the city were reported to the Shah. True to his proclamation, he punished them very severly. He "slit the noses of two or three Mughal soldiers, cut open their stomachs, thrust arrows into their nostrils," says the *Delhi Chronicle,* "and thus paraded them through the city in disgrace for this reason. Safety then reigned in the city."[28]

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27. *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 214-5; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 98a-99a; *Delhi Chronicle.*

28. *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 215-16; *Delhi Chronicle.*

On the same day, Emperor Alamgir paid a visit to the Shah in the *Diwan-i-Am,* where a *darbar* was held, Abdul Ahad Khan, son of Abdul Majid Khan, was appointed the *Diwan* of the *tan* and *Khalsa,* and the *peshkari* (deputyship) of the *Sarf-khas* (Privy Purse) was conferred on *Babu* Jafar Khan. A bridge was ordered to be thrown over the river Jamuna for communicating with the other side. Instructions were issued for the Hindus to put paint-marks on their foreheads to distinguish themselves from the followers of the Prophet, and fines were levied on those who neglected to wear them.[29]

BOOTY FROM DELHI

The Shah then turned his attention to the realization of reparations. The ex-wazir, Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk Asafjah, had been ordered to deposit in the Afghan treasury all the jewels he had removed from the royal jewel-house to his own *haveli* during the period of his ministership. Shah Wali Khan had been won over by him, but as the required sum was not forthcoming, Ghazi-ud-Din was chastised to an extreme degree of dishonour and his chief confidants were beaten with sticks, with the result that jewellery worth a *karor* of rupees, and over three lakhs of *ashrafis* (each gold *ashrafi* being rated at Rs. 16/- in value) were recovered from his house. Next came the turn of the new *wazir,* Khan-i-Khanan Intizam-ud-Daulah, who had promised to pay two *karors* of rupees for this high office. Jahan Khan was detailed to recover the promised amount. But Khan-i-Khanan was using dilatory tactics in the payment of the first instalment of one *karor,* and would not admit that he possessed any hidden hoards of his ancestors, of which Mughlani Begam had given information to the Shah. Jahan Khan, therefore, ordered Sangi Beg Khan and Abdur Rahman Khan, the household officers of Khan-i-Khanan, and Basant Khan of the royal *haram,* who had formerly been in his service, to be beaten with sticks. But it did not prove successful. Khan-i-Khanan was, therefore, carried to the Shah's presence and was told that if he did not produce

29. *Delhi Chronicle; Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 99a.

one *karor* of rupees that day, he would be tied to the wooden triangle fixed there and beaten with sticks. Mughlani Begam was moved at seeing this pitiable condition of her brother-in-law and sent a message to Ghazi-ud-Din for help. Ghazi realized that, for reasons of personal jealousy that existed between the dismissed and the new *wazir*, all that high-handedness would be ascribed to him. He, therefore, hastened to the Shah's presence and appealed to him to spare Khan-i-Khanan from being publicly flogged and dishonoured. "I want money," said the Shah, "let it be by harshness or mildness, and I must have it now and here. I am told there are twenty *karors* of rupees in cash in the house of Qamr-ud-Din. Out of that treasure, I accepted this young man's offer of two *karors* of rupees for wazirship and gave him that office. Why does he not pay that money?" Trembling with fear of public flogging, Khan-i-Khanan told the Shah that his mother Sholapuri Begam alone knew the secret. 'This old lady, the daughter-in-law of one grand *wazir*, the widow of another, and the mother of the third, was summoned' to the Shah's presence. "I want money," said he. "If you show me the spot of the (buried) treasure of Qamr-ud-Din, you will be like a mother and a sister to me, otherwise iron pins will be driven in underneath the nails of your fingers." "I do not know the exact place of the treasure," said the Begam, "I only know that it is buried in that *haveli*." Barkhurdar Khan and a number of sappers were then sent to dig the *haveli* and at noon they were able to discover the treasure of sixteen lakhs of rupees. According to the author of the *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, the digging of the floors and the breaking of the roofs continued for three days and the treasure estimated at over a *karor* and a half in cash and kind was recovered. "Some of these people who were present at the time of digging told us," says the above writer, "that two hundred gold candle-sticks of the size of a man were recovered from underneath the earth, in addition to a large quantity of invaluable diamonds, emeralds, pearls and rubies, mattings and carpets of foreign make, and gold-and-silver-covered maces, which were taken possession of by the Shah. *Subhan-Allah* (glory be to God)! Seventy years' hoards of Muhammad Amin Khan and Qamr-ud-Din Khan since the days of *Khuld-Makani* (Emperor Aurangzeb, Raised

to Heaven) have all in a day fallen to the lot of Ahmad Shah Abdali, and excepting sighs and regrets in the hands of Khan-i-Khanan and a heap of earth in the house, nothing remains there." Not only this. At the time of leaving the *haveli,* the Afghans selected one hundred beautiful women from the *haram-sarai* and carried them along. On a second selection, however, they retained only those of exceptional beauty and sent back the others.[30]

The Shah's search for cash and riches did not end with this. A systematic search was conducted in the mansions of all rich nobles and dignitaries of the city. The *haveli* of Samsam-ud-Daulah was dug up in the same manner in search of the hidden wealth. Even the house of the city *Kotwal,* Faulad Khan, was not spared and was robbed of all its wealth. The houses of those, who had fled away from the city, such as Sa'd-ud-Din Khan *Khan-i-Saman,* Raja Nagar Mall *Diwan-i-Khalsa-o-tan,* and Hira Nand jeweller, suffered the same fate. They were all broken open by the Afghans and everything that they could lay their hands upon was carried away.[31]

A regular tribute was levied on each and every house in Delhi and Mir Yahiya Khan, son of Zakariya Khan of Lahore, was placed in charge of its collection. The city was divided into a number of wards, and offices were opened in these sections to realize the levy house by house. The author of *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani* thus describes the pitiable condition to which the capital of the Mughal Empire had been reduced during these days:

"Yahiya Khan with a *kulah-posh* clerk had his collection-office in the Katra *Madrasa* Raushan-ud-Daulah near the Kotwali. Rich people were summoned by name by means of letters. In every street of the city, a *kulah-posh* Sardar was stationed with his troops. Having counted the houses, they demanded from each house-owner more than his capacity to pay. Beating and extortion became the order of the day. For fear of torture people sold their ornaments, utensils and clothing. But there was nobody to buy them. Gold sold at eight

30. *Delhi Chronicle; Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 99a-100a; *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 218-20; Samin, 14-16; *SPD.* XXI. 96, 98, 100.

31. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 100b.

to ten rupees a *tola* (180 grains), silver at two tolas a rupee and alloyed silver at three. Utensils sold at three seers for a rupee. Many people took poison on account of their poverty. Many people died of the torture of burns inflicted on their bodies. Even the houses of those who paid the levy were sacked and dug up. Not a man in the city escaped this calamity. Houses were devastated. This trouble raged from the 14th to the end of Jamadi-ul-Awwal (February 4-20), when it was rumoured that Ahmad Shah was about to march away. The collectors of the streets were then urged to deposit their collections. A second demand was then made by the collector on those who had paid already. Beating and slaying commenced again. Double collection was made from many places and many people were subjected to torture. Many of the houses that had escaped at first were plundered."[32]

It will be interesting to know that in these extortions and loot of the nobles and rich people of the capital, Mughlani Begam acted as a spy of the Shah, for which she was rewarded with the title of *Sultan Mirza* and was, later on, given the Doaba of Bist Jullundur and the territories of Jammu and Kashmir as her fief.

COIN STRUCK IN THE NAME OF THE SHAH

On the 30th of January, 1757, Jamadi-ul-Awwal 9, 1170 A.H., coins were struck in the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani at his mint in the Afghan camp at Delhi, bearing the same inscription, as appeared on his old coins struck at Qandahar and Lahore, with the addition of his regnal year as 11, and the Hijri year 1170.[33]

PRINCE TAIMUR MARRIED TO A ROYAL PRINCESS

The Shah, as we know, had demanded the hand of a royal princess for his son, Prince Taimur, and the message to this effect had been sent through Agha Raza Khan from Sirhind. The consent of Emperor Alamgir II having now been obtained,

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32. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 100b-101a; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* ii. 101-02.

33. *Delhi Chronicle; Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 101b.

the Shah sent to the Emperor's palace twenty thousand rupees in cash, twenty trays of clothes and twenty trays of sweetmeats on the 23rd of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, February 13, and on the night of the 24th of Jamadi-ul-Awwal the prince was married to Gauhar Afroz Bano Begam, also called Muhammadi Begam or Zuhra Begam, the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II. The territory of Sirhind was ceded to the Shah as a part of the dowry of the Princess.[34]

An agreement was signed between the Shah and Emperor Alamgir II on the 18th of February, and on the same day, the Shah seriously began his preparations for a march against the Jats and sent a large gun towards Ballabhgarh.[35]

UMDA BEGAM MARRIED TO GHAZI-UD-DIN

On the night of the 1st of Jamadi-us-Sani, February 20-21, Umda Begam, daughter of Mughlani Begam, was married to Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din in the presence of the Shah himself. According to the statement of Ghazi-ud-Din, as recorded by Ghulam Husain Samin, the Shah was graciously pleased to perform the *Henna* and *Nakah* ceremonies, give him five thousand rupees and a shawl of his own saying, "From today I take you as my own son. Be happy and cheerful in all respects."[36]

The marriage having been celebrated, the Shah bestowed upon Ghazi-ud-Din two lakhs of rupees in cash, two elephants, four horses and the title of *Farzand Khan*. Ghazi divorced his other wives. And Gunna Begam, the daughter of Ali Quli Khan, was handed over, says the *Delhi Chronicle*, to Mughlani Begam to be treated as a *kaniz* (a bond-maid).

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34. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 101b-102a; *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, 237; *Tahmas Namah*, 65b, 66b.

According to Samin, as narrated to him by Ghazi-ud-Din, the hand of the princess was offered by the Emperor of his own accord and was hesitatingly accepted by the Shah. p. 17. The *Delhi Chronicle* places the marriage in the night of 30-31 January, 1757.

35. *Delhi Chronicle*.

36. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 102a; Samin 16; *Tahmas Namah*, 66a; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 238; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 99-100.

Chapter XIV

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE JATS

While the Great Mughal and his great nobles lay quietly prostrate at the feet of the Afghan and lifted not even their little fingers in defence of their empire and people, nay not even in defence of the honour of their dear and near ones, the Shah smelt a spirit of refractoriness in the Marathas and the Jats. It was from these people that he experienced whatever little opposition was offered to his arms.

GHAZI-UD-DIN'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH SURAJ MALL JAT

Deserted by *Amir-ul-Umra* Najib-ud-Daulah, Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din had looked to Suraj Mall Jat for help against the Shah. When the news of the invasion of India poured into Delhi in November, 1756, Ibadullah Khan Kashmiri, the favourite confidant of Ghazi-ud-Din, considering that Najib-ud-Daulah could not be relied upon, suggested to him to call in help from the Marathas. But as the Maratha headquarters were far off and the Jat chief of Bharatpur was near at hand, Raja Nagar Mall's proposal to invite Suraj Mall from Bharatpur and a Maratha officer, Antaji Manakeshwar, from Itawa was accepted. A royal *farman* and a letter in the Wazir's own hand were immediately despatched to the Jat. Antaji Manakeshwar was also called in. Suraj Mall obeyed the call and came to Tilpat (Tal Kishan Das, according to the *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk,* 161–2) where Nagar Mall opened negotiations with him. Suraj Mall was of the opinion that the Marathas should, in the first instance, be driven to the south of the Narbada with the help of the Rajput rajahs of Jodhpur, Jaipur, etc. When the safety of the country was thus ensured against those spoliators, a combined expedition could be launched against the Durrani as in the days of *Wazir* Qamar-ud-Din. But Ghazi-ud-Din was not in favour of blockading the Marathas. The negotiations, therefore, broke down on this conflict of policy, and Suraj Mall returned disappointed to his country in the third week of November, 1756. The negotiations of Najib-ud-Daulah with Suraj Mall, at the same time, are

said to be, to some extent, responsible for creating the rift between the Delhi Wazir and the Jat chief of Bharatpur. But, in spite of all this, Suraj Mall detailed his son to keep in the neighbourhood of Delhi, ready for any emergency.[1]

MARATHAS DEFEATED BY AFGHANS

Antaji Manakeshwar arrived near Shahdara on the eastern side of the Jamuna on the 30th of December, 1756, and, under instructions of Ghazi, attempted to stem the tide of the Durranis of Shah Wali Khan on the 16th of January, 1757, when the latter was rushing towards Narela on his way to the Mughal capital. But in the absence of any reinforcement, he was pushed back, and on his retreat was attacked by the Ruhilas whose chief, Najib-ud-Daulah, had secretly submitted to the Shah. He was, however, successful on the 21st of January in inflicting a defeat on Sarwar Khan, who had been sent by Shah Wali Khan to block the passage at Faridabad. Sarwar lost four hundred men on the field, with as many horses falling into the victor's hands. But Antaji's resistance was finally crushed by Sardar Jahan Khan on the 1st of February. Guided by the Ruhilas, an army of twenty thousand strong under the Durrani commander surprised and overpowered the Maratha who, with much difficulty, cut his way out and fled to Mathura in the territory of Suraj Mall Jat. Antaji left about one thousand of his men dead on the field. Two hundred of them were above the rank of common soldiers. The victorious Durranis set fire to the town of Faridabad and returned to Delhi on February 2, carrying with them six hundred severed heads, said to have been of the Marathas and the Jats, and the Shah rewarded them at the rate of eight rupees per head. With this decisive defeat the Maratha opposition to the Shah came to an end and they did not appear on the stage again to measure swords with the Durranis as long as the Shah was in India.[2]

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1. *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 158-62; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 82b-84a.

2. *Tazkhirah-i-Imad,* 201-5; *SPD.* XXI. 95, 96, 99, 103; *Delhi Chronicle;* Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* ii. 110-14. Antaji gives the day and date of his battle with the Durranis as Wednesday, the 14th of the 1st half of Magh, which corresponds to the 2nd and 3rd February *SPD.* XXI. 99.

THE JAT REFUSED TO OBEY THE SHAH

But the proud Jat was still there, unvanquished and uncurbed. It is true that on the arrival of the Shah at Delhi, Suraj Mall had sent in a letter of submission, as Samin tells us (*Halat-i-Ahmad Shah Abdali,* 14), and had not agreed earlier to fight against the Shah on the side of Ghazi-ud-Din. He had also subscribed his name to the petition submitted to the Shah by Khan-i-Khanan Intizam-ud-Daulah, Nagar Mall and others, offering to pay fifty lakhs of rupees, if he were to send Ghazi as a prisoner beyond the Indus and not allow him to return to India lest the Marathas should come up to his help. The Shah had called him to his presence to pay a tribute and to serve under his banner. But the Jat had not only not obeyed the summons, but had also retired from Mathura to his strong fort of Kumhir, detailing his son, Jawahar Singh, for the defence of Mathura. Not only this. In addition to providing shelter to a large number of rich people of Delhi, who had fled to Mathura, he refused to hand over to the Shah's agents some of the important refugees. He had only sent back the evasive and diplomatic reply: "When the leading *zamindars* come to attend His Majesty's presence, this slave will also kiss the (royal) threshold. How can I send Rajah Nagar Mall and others who have sought asylum with me?"[3]

At Mathura, Antaji Manakeshwar tried to persuade Suraj Mall to join him in fighting against Ahmad Shah. But Suraj Mall refused to fight for those who would not fight for themselves, saying, "The Irani (Afghan) Padshah has captured the Empire of India, with only fifty thousand troops. Not a bullet was fired by any one, not one man sacrificed his life. What do I count for?"—vide Antaji Manakeshwar's letter, *SPD.* XXI. 99, p. 114

3. Samin, 14; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 83b-84a; Sarkar, ii, 114-15; *Delhi Chronicle.*

'The rajahs of Ambar and Jodhpur style themselves as Abdali's servants and they have invited him to get relief from the Marathas and, in return, have agreed to serve him. They cannot fight with Abdali. [Suraj Mall] Jat alone is an exception. But what can he do alone? He may pay the money and save his territory. If any one helps him, he may fight; but he is afraid of the Marathas.'—vide *SPD.* xxi. 101, p. 120.

SKIRMISHES WITH JAWAHAR SINGH JAT

Deciding to march against the proud Jat, the Shah despatched a *kahi*, a foraging party, in the direction of Faridabad to collect food and fodder for the expedition. Jawahar Singh then happened to be in the neighbouring fort of Ballabhgarh. He rushed out with five to six thousand *sawars*, annihilated the foragers and carried away about one hundred and fifty horses as booty.[4]

The Shah was extremely enraged to hear this. He ordered Abdus Samad Khan Muhammadzei the same night to proceed immediately to the scene of the disaster. He was directed to lie in ambush at a distance of a *kos* or two and send out one hundred *sawars* against the enemy to establish their contact with them and, then, to retreat fighting to decoy them into this lurking-place. This done, Jawahar Singh almost fell into the trap, a number of his men were killed and a part of the booty was recovered. But the Jat prince cleverly extricated himself from the entanglement and escaped to Ballabhgarh. The Afghans devastated a number of villages, beheaded as many people as they could capture and returned towards Delhi with about five hundred severed heads.[5]

SHAH MARCHED AGAINST THE JAT CHIEF

Having loaded his treasure, jewels and other property, Ahmad Shah left Delhi for the Jat territory on the 2nd of Jamadi-us-Sani, 1170 A.H., February 22, 1757. Emperor Alamgir, Khan-i-Khanan Intizam-ud-Daulah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Mir Yahiya Khan, etc., went to see him off and were allowed to return to Delhi from Takiya Ghulam Saadat Darvesh. The Shah halted for two days (February 23-24) at Khizarabad. Alamgir paid a visit to him at this station on the 3rd of Jamadi-us-Sani, February 23, and complained to him of the high-handedness of those Afghans who had stayed behind in

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'Now, as Suraj Mall is not paying the tribute, nor becoming his servant, we can join him and keep everything in abeyance for one month. But if the Jat has no more patience to hold out and joins [the enemy], what safety do we have?'—*SPD.* xxi. 105, 125.

4. Samin, 16; Qanungo, *Jats*, i. 98-99; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 542.

5. Samin, 16; Qanungo, *Jats*, i. 98-9.

Delhi. "You have come here," said Alamgir, "but your men continue the slaughter of the citizens in the city." The Shah detailed two hundred horsemen to accompany the Mughal with instruction "to beat and drive out the *Kulahposh* wherever they were to be seen in the city." This accomplished with the help of Atiqullah Khan, son of *Kotwal* Faulad Khan, and Basant Khan, peaceful life soon returned to Delhi. On the following day, February 24, Ghazi-ud-Din arrived in the Afghan camp to accompany the Shah on his expedition against the Jats.[6]

Leaving Khizarabad on the 25th of February, the Shah encamped at Badarpur, where he was joined by Mughlani Begam. On the following morning the Shah moved to Faridabad, six miles north of Ballabhgarh. The Shah had, at first, no intention of taking Ballabhgarh. But on his arrival at Faridabad, he was informed by Abdus Samad Khan Muhammadzei, who returned from his expedition against the Jats the same day, that Jawahar Singh had escaped from his trap and had entered his fort of Ballabhgarh. This effected a change in the Shah's programme, and he decided upon the immediate reduction of the fort. This was the weakest of the Jat fortifications, and its fall was expected to be an auspicious beginning of the expedition against these turbulent people.[7]

PETITION OF AHMAD KHAN BANGASH

It was here at Faridabad camp that Sher Andaz Khan *alias* Sayyad Muhammad Saleh accompanied by Ghulam Husain Khan Samin had an audience of the Shah and conveyed to him the petition of Ahmad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad. While at Delhi, the Shah had called him to his presence. The Bangash had hesitated, but on receipt of pressing letters from the Shah and his *wazir*, Shah Wali Khan, he summoned a *jirgah*, the council of the elders, and placed the matter before them. Sher Andāz Khan offered to go to the Shah as an envoy. His proposal was accepted and he was despatched to the court of the Shah. Sher Andaz Khan incidently met Ghazi-ud-Din Khan in the tent of Shah Wali

6. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 102a-103a.
7. Samin, 16, 24; Sarkar, ii. 116; Qanungo, *Jats*, i. 98-99.

Khan at Faridabad on the 26th of February. In the course of conversation, Ghazi saw the petition of Ahmad Khan Bangash, addressed to the Shah, saying that if *Oudh,* the country of Shujah-ud-Daulah, were given over to him (Ahmad Khan), he would pay two *karors* of rupees to the Shah in addition to six *karors* for Bengal. Ghazi suggested that the petition should be so altered as to read: "If Shujah-ud-Daulah comes into my hands, I will pay two *karors* of rupees, but if he goes away to some other place with his wealth and property, I will remit one *karor* annually. As for Bengal, I will pay five *karors* of rupees for two years" instead of six *karors* written in the petition. The petition was accordingly amended and presented to the Shah on the following day, February 27, when he was pleased to order: "You are a Sayyad. Be assured, your wishes shall be complied with. I have come to this country only for the strengthening of Islam and for the extirpation of the infidels like the Marathas. I have sent for Jangbaz Khan. He shall be here in four days. I will order him to accompany you to Farrukhabad. Write to Ahmad Khan to be ready with his arrangements."[8]

THE JAT TERRITORY DEVASTATED

While the Shah proposed to direct the siege of Ballabhgarh himself, he detached Sardar Jahan Khan and Najib-ud-Daulah with twenty thousand men with the orders: "Move into the boundaries of the accursed Jat and plunder and ravage every town and district held by him. The city of Mathura is a holy place of the Hindus; let it be put entirely to the edge of the sword. Leave nothing in that kingdom and country. Up to Akbarabad (Agra) leave nothing standing." The Shah also proclaimed, through his *nasaqchis,* a general order to the army 'to carry fire and sword wherever they went. Any booty, they acquired, was made a free gift to them. Every person cutting off and bringing in heads of the infidels should throw them down before the tent of the chief minister. An account would be drawn up and five rupees per head would be paid from the government funds.'[9]

8. Samin, 3-10, 17-9.
9. Samin, 23; Sarkar, *Fall,* ii. 117; Qanungo, *Jats,* 99-100.

BALLABHGARH TAKEN BY THE SHAH

The Shah then laid siege to the fort of Ballabhgarh. Prince Jawahar Singh had arrived there from Mathura with two Maratha refugees, Antaji Manakeshwar and Shamsher Bahadur. The Jat bravely defended the fort. But 'Ahmad Shah personally directed the siege, and his five mortars firing, with a high muzzle elevation, a kind of shell (consisting of two iron hemispheres welded together, which broke and spread on impact with the ground) and constantly shifting their angle, inflicted such a destructive bombardment on Ballabhgarh and so completely overpowered the swivel pieces and muskets, which formed the only fire of the defence, that the place became untenable in a few hours.' Unable to hold out any longer against the superior fire of the Afghans, the Jat prince availed himself of the darkness of night (March 3) and dressing himself as a Qizzilbash, slipped into the moat, threaded his way through the Shah's troops and escaped by the Jamuna side. The Afghans carried the fort by assault and put the inmates to the sword. Twelve thousand rupees in cash, pots of gold and silver, fourteen horses, eleven camels and a large store of grain and clothing fell into their hands [10]

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10. *Delhi Chronicle; Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 103b-105a; *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 240; *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* 203-04; Sarkar, ii, 116-17; Qanungo, i. 100-1.

According to the *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* the Shah had ordered some guns to be sent for from Delhi. But in the absence of draught animals, it was extremely difficult to transport them to Ballabhgarh. And, at last when they were being dragged out, the news arrived at Delhi that Ballabhgarh had been captured by the Shah. Qanungo places the description of the Afghan atrocities, given by Samin in his *Halat-i-Ahmad Shahi,* 23-4 (translated by Irvine in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXXVI, 60), after the fall of Ballabhgarh, while Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar places it after the plunder of Agra (*Vide F.M.E.* ii. 124-5). The internal evidence goes in favour of the latter.

Francklin, in his *Reign of Shah Aulum,* gives the credit of victory against the Jats, evidently at Ballabhgarh, to Ghazi-ud-Din who was, later on, rewarded for it by Ahmad Shah by the grant of the office of wazirship pp. 6-8. Cf. *Husain Shahi,* 30-31.

SACK OF MATHURA

Jahan Khan, guided by Najib-ud-Daulah, on the other hand, had commenced his slaughtering and scalp-gathering campaign with a greater vigour and on a much larger scale. All of a sudden, he swooped down upon the unsuspecting town of Mathura. Prince Jawahar Singh was there to defend it. Although taken by surprise, Jawahar Singh and his Jat 'peasantry were determined that it was only over their corpses that the ravager should enter the sacred capital of Braja'. Jawahar Singh issued out on the 28th of February with five thousand men to block the passage of the invader outside the village of Chaumuha, eight miles north of Mathura. But he was no match for the veteran Afghan general, and, despite his stout resistance for nine hours, he was pushed aside with a heavy loss of about three thousand lives. The Afghan victors pushed on to Mathura while Jawahar Singh fled to Ballabhgarh, from the frying-pan into the fire, as we have already seen.[11]

Early in the morning of the 1st of March, Jamadi-us-Sani 9, Jahan Khan came upon the city. It had no moat, no fortifying wall and no garrison to defend it. It was mostly a city of priests and pilgrims, many of whom had come from outside for the *Holi* festival of the springtime rejoicings which had been celebrated two days earlier. Jahan Khan had the fullest opportunity for a literal execution of his master's commands "to slay and plunder". His fury had been further inflamed by the resistance of the previous night and he was not in a mood to show mercy. He ordered an indiscriminate massacre of the people, and the *Holi* was played afresh with the deep red blood of the Hindus. In addition to this carnage, the city was set at fire and it burnt like a huge bonfire. 'The devotees of the degenerate Vaishnavism, who lived in

11. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 106a; *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 240; Ali Ibrahim, *Tarikh-i-Bhau-o-Janko,* 16. According to a report quoted by Rajwade, vol. i. letter No. 63, 'a Jat force of 5600 came out of Mathura and fought Abdali's army stoutly, but was defeated by superior numbers. Three thousand Jats fell and 2000 fled away.'—Sarkar, ii. 118 (foot-note). The loss of life, according to the *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* is said to have been 'ten-twelve thousand soldiers on both sides.' p. 106a.

bowers beside the stream (Jamuna) dreaming of the frolics of the Divine Cowherd and hearing in ecstasy the tune of his amorous flute, met with a fit retribution,' says Dr. Qanungo. Huge and heavy idols were broken to pieces under the blows of the *ghazis'* hatchets and were kicked about in lanes and streets like children's polo-balls.[12] The city was predominantly Hindu in population, but the few Muslim residents also had their share in the general disaster. Ghulam Husain Samin has recorded the case of a Muslim jeweller, who was robbed of his four thousand rupees and whose life was spared only when he disclosed his privities to prove that he was a co-religionist of the Afghans. Then came another Afghan and cut him on the stomach. He had then to fly for his life and hide in a corner.

Jahan Khan marched away the same night from Mathura, leaving the Ruhila jackals to feast upon what had remained unconsumed by the Afghan tigers. Najib stayed behind for three days, perhaps, to collect the contribution of a lakh of rupees laid by Jahan Khan upon the remaining population, plundered the wealth and hidden treasures of rich people and carried away a large number of beautiful women as captives. The *Bairagi* and *Sanyasi* recluses were cut down in their huts, says Samin, and in each of these huts 'lay a severed head with the head of a dead cow applied to its mouth and tied to it with a rope round its neck.' Such was the havoc wrought in Mathura that, according to the Muslim jeweller's statement, 'for seven days, following the general slaughter, the water (of the stream) flowed blood-red and then it turned yellow.'[13]

MASSACRE AT BRINDABAN

Jahan Khan repeated the play of fire and sword on the 6th of March in Brindaban, seven miles to the north of Mathura. To quote from Samin's Memoirs, 'wherever you

12. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 105a-106a; Samin, 24; *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 241-2; *Husain Shahi,* 30; Ghulam Ali, *Shah Alam Namah,* 28; *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* 201-02, Sarkar, ii. 118-9, Qanungo, i. 103.

13 Nur-ud-Din, *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 15b, Samin, Sarkar, ii, 119-20. Cf Ghulam Ali, *Shah Alam Namah,* 28.

gazed you beheld only heaps of the slain; you could only pick your way with difficulty, owing to enormous number of bodies lying about and the amount of blood spilt. At one place that we reached, we saw about two hundred dead children in a heap. Not one of the dead bodies had a head... The stench and fetor and effluvium in the air were such that it was painful to open your mouth or even draw a breath.'[14]

GOKUL

After the fall of Ballabhgarh Ahmad Shah had followed the army of Jahan Khan at a slow pace. He arrived near Mathura on the 15th of March, wisely crossed over to the other side of the Jamuna and encamped at Mahaban, six miles to the south-east of the town. From here he detached a force for the plunder of Gokul, lying at hand at a distance of about two miles from his camp. The latent martial spirit of the sturdy North-Indian Nanga Sadhus of the Bairagi cult was roused in defence of their monastry and four thousand of these 'naked ash-besmeared warriors' issued out of the town to oppose the advance of the Afghans. A desperate struggle ensued. Two thousand of them fell dead on the scene of action along with as many of the Afghans. Jugal Kishor, the *vakil* of Bengal, who was then in the Shah's camp, told him that Gokul was only a hermitage of the naked recluses and that there was not much money to be had there. The Shah, therefore, recalled his detachment and Gokul was saved.[15]

JAHAN KHAN AT AGRA

The Shah's next objective was Agra (Akbarabad). The influx of rich refugees from the devastated areas into this place excited his cupidity. He called back Jahan Khan and Najib-ud-Daulah from their roving expeditions and ordered

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14. Samin, *Halat-i-Ahmad Shah Abdali* (Irvine's trans., *Ind. Ant.* vol. xxxvi, 62), Qanungo, 104-5; Sarkar, ii. 120-21.

15. Samin, *Indian Antiquary,* xxvi. 61, Sarkar, ii. 121-22; Rajwade, i. 63. According to Krishna Joshi's letter of the 12th of Rajjab, 1170 A.H., April 2, 1757, Ahmad Shah sent the force against Gokul from Mathura. Samin is more reliable in this respect. Also see Sarkar, ii. 121, foot-note. "All the Bairagis perished," says the Marathi letter, "but Gokul-Nath [the idol] was saved."

them to march upon the city of Akbar the Great. With fifteen thousand *sawars* Jahan Khan arrived at its gates on the morning of the 21st of March. The news of the dreadful massacres at Mathura and Brindaban must have preceded him. The leading residents came out to meet the raider and promised to pay five lakhs of rupees as ransom. But as they found it difficult to raise the money during the stipulated time, the Afghans entered the city and subjected it to plunder and massacre. Jahan Khan, however, failed to take the fort. He made several attempts which were all foiled by the energetic defence put up by Mirza Saifullah, who directed the fire of the fort-guns so well that it became impossible for the Afghans to approach it and carry it by assault. Jahan Khan stayed at Agra for a week in the hope of realizing the promised ransom. But it was with great difficulty that the officials could raise one lakh of rupees from Samaldas, the *gumashta* or agent of Jagat Seth of Bengal, and pay it to Jahan Khan. On the 23rd of March he received urgent orders from the Shah to repair to his presence. He could no longer, therefore, stay at Agra to realize the ransom in full and left it on the 24th, joining the Shah near Mathura.[16]

CHOLERA IN AFGHAN CAMP

The Shah had made up his mind to return home immediately. Outraged nature had risen up in wrath against him. Cholera had broken out in his camp at Mahaban and the Afghan soldiers were dying at the rate of about 150 a day. It was but natural. Mahaban was situated thirteen miles downstream from Brindaban. "The river," in the words of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, "its level now very low at the height of the dry season, was choked with the half-burnt and unburnt bodies of suicides and slaughtered persons; and in three weeks' time the Indian sun did its work. The water reached Abdali's camp after washing Vrindavan, Mathura and other places, all upstream, which had been turned into slaughter-houses by his order." Cholera was the inevitable result. "There was no remedy, no medicine available; it cost Rs. 100/-

16 *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 109a; Rajwade, i 163; *SPD.* xxi, 111, xxvii. 146, 152, 155; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 542.

to buy a seer of tamarind, a drink made of tamarind being prescribed with benefit." The loss of horse-flesh was equally heavy in the Afghan army. The surviving soldiers clamoured for returning home. Abdali's hands were forced."[17] He had, therefore, no alternative but to return home.

SHAH'S MESSAGE TO ALAMGIR

On the 26th of March, 1757, Rajjab 5, 1170 A.H., Ahmad Shah despatched his envoy Qalandar Khan to inform the Mughal Emperor Alamgir II at Delhi (March 28) that he had dropped the idea of a campaign against the Jats and that he had moved towards Delhi. At the same time his prime minister Shah Wali Khan's letter conveyed to him the heart-rending proposal that the Shah wished to take in marriage the hand of Princess Hazrat Begam, the maiden daughter of the late Emperor Muhammad Shah. This was too severe a wrench for the Dowager-empresses, Malika-uz-Zamani and Sahib Mahal, who wept and cried saying, "We will rather put Hazrat Begam to death and kill ourselves than give her to the Afghan." But it was all in vain. The Emperor was helpless.[18]

SURAJ MALL'S REPLY TO THE SHAH

On his arrival at Shergarh, about nineteen miles north of Mathura, the Shah made a last despairing effort to extort whatever was possible from Suraj Mall Jat. He sent to him two envoys, Jugal Kishor of Bengal and an Afghan officer, with a threatening letter to say that if he continued to persist in his evasion to pay the tribute, his three forts of Dig, Kumhir and Bharatpur would be razed to the ground and levelled with the dust, and the responsibility for what might befall him and his country (like Mathura and Brindaban) would be entirely his. But the Jat was not to be frightened. He wrote back to the Shah in flattering, but bold, terms:

> "I have no important position and power in the empire of Hindustan. I am one of the *zamindars* living in the desert, and on account of my worthlessness not one of the emperors of the age thought it worthy of him to interfere

17. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii. 125-6.
18. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 109b-110a.

with my affairs. Now that a powerful emperor like Your Majesty, determined on meeting and opposing me face to face in the field of battle, would draw his armies against this insignificant person, that action alone would be discreditable to the dignity and greatness of the Shah and would help in the elevation of my position (in the public estimation) and would be a matter of pride for my humble self. The world would say that the Emperor of Iran and Turan had, out of extreme fear, marched his armies upon a penniless nomad. These words alone would be a matter of great shame for Your Majesty, the bestower of crowns. Moreover, the ultimate result is not altogether free from uncertainty. If, with all this power and equipage, you succeed in destroying a weakling like myself, what credit will there be gained? (About me) they will only say, 'what power and position had that poor man?' But if by divine decree, which is not known to anyone, the affair takes a different turn, what will it lead to? All this power and preponderance brought about by Your Majesty's gallant soldiers during a period of eleven years will vanish in a moment.

"It is a matter of surprise that your large-hearted Majesty has not given thought to this small point, and with all this congregation and huge multitude (army) has taken upon yourself the trouble of this simple and insignificant expedition. As to the threatening and violent order issued for the slaughter and devastation of myself (and my country), warriors have no fear on that score. It is well known that no intelligent man has any faith in this transient life. As for myself, I have already crossed fifty of the stages (of life) and know not anything about the remaining. There shall be no greater blessing than that I should drink the draught (of martyrdom), that has to be taken (sooner or later) in the arena of warriors and in the field of battle with valiant soldiers, and leave my name, and that of my ancestors, on the pages of (the book of) the age to be remembered that a powerless peasant breathed equality with such a great and powerful emperor as had reduced mighty kings to subjection, and that he fell fighting. And the same virtu-

ous intention lies at the heart of my faithful followers and companions. Even if I wish to make up my mind to attend at the threshold of your angelic court, the honour of my friends does not permit me. Under such circumstances, if Your Majesty, the fountain of justice, forgive me, who is as weak as a straw, and turn your attention to expeditions of greater importance, no harm shall come to your dignity and glory.

"The truth about the three forts, belonging to (me) the object of your wrath, which have been regarded by Your Majesty's chiefs as (weak as) a spider's web, shall be tested only after an actual contest. God willing, they shall be (as invincible as) Alexander's Rampart."[19]

But with the terrible loss of life on account of the prevailing epidemic of cholera and the daily increasing heat of the Indian summer, the Shah could no longer stay in the country to translate his threats into action. He continued his march towards Delhi. But as the Shah's real intentions were not known, Suraj Mall's envoys continued the negotiations and kept him amused with the promise of ten lakhs of rupees. At Delhi, however, it became clear that he was returning home. Fast camel-riders conveyed the news to

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19. *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk,* 243-45; Qudratullah, *Jam-i-Jahan Numa,* i. 503, ii. 118.

Qudratullah in his *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* has thus summarized the negotiations between Suraj Mall Jat and Ahmad Shah Durrani:

'On account of a rich treasury, strong forts, a numerous army and large quantities of war material, Suraj Mall did not leave his place and prepared himself for war He told the envoys of the Shah, "You have not conquered India as yet If you have taken hold of an inexperienced child (Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din) who held Delhi, what is there (to be proud of)?" If you have any pretensions, why this delay (in attacking me)? However conciliatory the Shah became, the pride and arrogance of the Jat increased. And he said, "I have spent large sums of money on this fort. The Shah can be kind to me by fighting with me, so that the world may remember in future that a *badshah* came from *vilayat* and conquered Delhi, but was helpless against an insignificant *zamindar.*" Fearful of the strength of the Jat forts, the Shah went back, and, taking in marriage at Delhi the hand of the daughter of (Emperor) Muhammad Shah for himself, and of the daughter of (Emperor) Alamgir II for his son, returned to Qandahar.

Suraj Mall, who unceremoniously turned out the Shah's envoys without paying them a single penny.[20]

EXPEDITION TO OUDH FAILED

The Shah, as we know, had promised Sayyad Sher Andaz Khan, the envoy of Ahmad Khan Bangash, to send an army along with him against Shuja-ud-Daulah of Oudh. He had sent for his general Jangbaz Khan and also for two princes from Delhi near his camp at Mathura. The Shah formally honoured them on the 27th of Rabi-us-Sani, 1170 A.H., March 19, 1757, and on the following morning despatched them to Oudh and Bengal via Farrukhabad, accompanied by Jangbaz Khan at the head of a miscellaneous force of about three thousand men. Muhammad Hidayat Bakhsh, son of Emperor Alamgir II, and Mirza Baba, the nephew and son-in-law of the Emperor, were appointed governors of Bengal and Oudh respectively. The expedition of the princes, it may be mentioned, was a dismal failure. As it does not fall within the scope of our subject, we leave it here and return to Ahmad Shah at Delhi, preparing himself for his homeward journey to Afghanistan.[21]

On the 10th of Rajjab, 1170 A.H., March 31, 1757, the Shah was encamped near Sarai Basant Khan and Sarai Suhail in the suburbs of Delhi and paid a visit to the mausoleum of Khwajah Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiar Kaki. In spite of the orders of the Shah to the contrary, some of the Afghans rushed into the city and plundered some places. On the 11th Rajjab, April 1, the Shah moved his camp in the direction of Wazirabad and Badli and stayed there for three days. It was

20. *SPD.* ii. 72; Sarkar, ii. 126; Qanungo, i. 106.

21. For the expedition of the Mughal princes, see *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 106b, 109a, 117b-118b, 127b; *SPD* xxi. iii-138, xxvii. 146, 160-190, xxix. 71; *Tazkirah-i- Imad,* 246-49, 285-97; Sarkar, ii. 130-6; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 542-3; Munna Lal, *Shah Alam Namah,* 11-3; *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 53-4; *Jam-i-Jahan Numa,* ii. 75-7; Harcharan Dass, *Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai,* 217-18.

According to the *Gulistan-i-Rahmat,* 104-5, the Shah wrote to *Hafiz* Rahmat Khan, whose envoy Yaqub Ali Khan was then present in the Shah's camp, to help Jangbaz Khan and Ghazi-ud-Din in this expedition.

there at the tank of Maqsudabad that Emperor Alamgir II, accompanied by his eldest son, Shah Alam, Najib-ud-Daulah and Majid-ud-Daulah, paid his farewell visit to the Shah on the 12th of Rajjab, April 2. Prince Taimur, with Shah Wali Khan and Jahan Khan, went out to receive his father-in-law. In the course of conversation the Emperor requested the Shah to order the release of all captives taken by the Afghans from Delhi, Mathura and other places. The Shah was pleased to grant this request. Several thousand of them, both male and female, returned with the Emperor to Delhi, and were restored to their relatives the next morning; the friendless were allowed to go wherever they liked. Under instructions from the Shah the office of the prime minister was again given to Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din, while Najib-ud-Daulah was appointed his supreme agent in India.[22]

The Dowager-empresses Malika-uz-Zamani and Sahib Mahal had vehemently resented the proposal of the Shah for the hand of Hazrat Begam, daughter of Emperor Muhammad Shah. But as they were helpless against his order and could not, at the same time, bear the wrench of her separation, they also decided to accompany her to Afghanistan and arrived with her in the Shah's camp on the 5th of April. Sahib Mahal, the mother of Hazrat Begam, who had gone to Delhi for a farewell visit to her mother and to remove her belongings, left Delhi on the 10th of April and followed the Shah's camp which had, that day, moved to Sonepat.[23]

Besides the two princesses — Hazrat Begam, also called Badshah Bibi (daughter of Muhammad Shah), married to himself, Gauhar Afroz Begam (daughter of Alamgir II) married to his son, the Dowager-empresses, Iffat-un-Nisa Begam (daughter of Dawar Bakhsh and great-grand-daughter of Aurangzeb) married to Nadir's son, Nasrullah, in 1739, and taken into his own *haram* by Ahmad Shah after Nadir's death, and Muhtaram-un-Nisa (a daughter of the late Ahmad Shah and a nursling of Malika-uz-Zamani), there were sixteen

22. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 111a-112b, 115b. Cf. *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 254; Sarkar, ii. 129-30; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 543-4.

23. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 109b-112a, 113a, 114b, 115a-b. Cf. *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 253-55; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 543.

other ladies of the Delhi *haram* in the Shah's camp. There were also four hundred maid-servants 'who were being dragged away with their mistresses, but many of them escaped on the way and returned to their homes.'[24]

In addition to the above, Ahmad Shah's booty of this invasion of India has been valued at three to twelve (even thirty) *karors* of rupees by contemporary writers. As many as twenty-eight thousand elephants, camels, mules, bullocks and carts were loaded with the property of the Shah. Of his eighty thousand horse and foot, every one was carrying the spoils that fell to his share. 'His cavalry returned on foot, loading their booty on their chargers.' To this may be added two hundred camels carrying the property of the Dowager-empresses.[25]

HOMEWARD MARCH

Leaving Sonepat, the Shah's camp arrived at Taraori on the 13th of April, 1757. Inayat Khan of Kunjpura paid a tribute of twenty lakhs. Here, Jahan Khan returned unsuccessful from his tribute-collecting mission to the Baluch *zamindars* of Rohtak and was ordered to move in advance along with Prince Taimur to Lahore.[26]

MUGHLANI BEGAM DEJECTED

In appreciation of her services during this campaign, the Shah had bestowed upon Mughlani Begam the territories of Doaba Bist Jullundur, Jammu and Kashmir. The Begam appointed Adina Beg Khan, then residing in the hills, the

24. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 111b-112a, 113a-115b.

25. *SPD.* ii. 71.

According to Lakshman Appaji (*SPD.* xxi. 98) the Shah recovered cash, jewels, etc., worth 3 to 4 *karors* of rupees. In the plunder of Delhi, says Shivram Nayak Bhide, the Shah got 10 *karors* (*SPD.* xxi, 118). Khan-i-Khanan's house contained property worth 4 *karors,* Ghazi-ud-Din's house yielded one *karor*; seven *karors* were taken from the money-lenders of Delhi—in all 12 *karors* were taken by Abdali (*SPD.* xxvii. 152) Shakir Khan, in his *Tazkirah,* 75, says that the Shah confiscated 10-12 *karors* in cash and kind from the house of Khān-i-Khanan alone. Krishan Joshi (Rajwade, 1. 63) estimates the total booty at 30 *karors* of rupees.

26. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* ii 127.

governor of the Doaba, retained Raja Ranjit Dev in Jammu and sent Khwaja Ibrahim Khan, a relative of hers, to Kashmir. But the grant to the Begam was soon cancelled. In the new arrangements for the administration of his Indian territories, including Sirhind (beginning with Gharaunda in the *parganah* of Karnal), Doaba Bist Jullundur, Lahore, Kashmir, Thatta and Multan, the Shah appointed his son Taimur viceroy with the title of *Shah* and Sardar Jahan Khan his *naib* at Lahore. Abdus Samad Khan Muhammadzei of Hasht Nagar was appointed to the government of Sirhind, Sarfraz Khan to that of the Doaba Bist Jullundur and Buland Khan Saddozei of Multan to Kashmir. This was distasteful to the Begam, who accompanied him as far as the river Jhelum, imploring him to allow her to retain the promised fief. But in the interest of a strong government in the Panjab under his son, a woman of the type of Mughlani Begam 'could not be allowed to hold the Jalandhar Doab and thus interpose a break between Lahore and Sirhind, nor could the Panjab province be shorn of its northern hill territories, Jammu and Kashmir.' The Shah said to her, "Now that your brother, Taimur Shah, is the ruler of the place, what will you do with the provinces? You stay in Lahore and receive from the government of Taimur Shah an annuity of thirty thousand rupees." But the Begam refused this offer. The Shah desired Shah Wali Khan and Jahan Khan to persuade her to accept the *jagir* in cash and settle down to a peaceful life. But she was adamant and returned to Lahore dejected, to live in poverty and misery.[27]

While the Shah's van under Taimur and Jahan Khan was on its way to Lahore with the booty of the campaign, the Sikhs found a favourable opportunity to attack it. Sardar Ala Singh of Patiala (popularly called Ala Jat) and some other Sikhs collected at Sirhind, attacked the prince and carried away his treasury. A second attack was made at Maver Kot (? Maler Kotla) and the Afghan army was harassed and plundered. Such was the terror created by the successes of the Sikhs that even Prince Taimur was

27. *Tahmas Namah,* 66a-70a; *Husain Shahi,* 32; *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 132; Khushwaqt Rai, 74.

rumoured, of course wrongly, to have been captured and killed by them.[28]

SACK OF KARTARPUR

On their way to Lahore, the first thing that Prince Taimur and Jahan Khan did on their arrival in the Jullundur Doab was to sack the Sikh town and temple of Kartarpur, about ten miles to the north-west of Jullundur. It was an open town with no moat or fortifications, and its importance lay in its *Gurdwaras,* or Sikh temples, sacred to the memory of the fifth and the sixth Sikh Gurus, Arjun and Hargobind. Sodhi Wadbhag Singh, the pontiff of the place, was a man of considerable influence, but he was not then at Kartarpur. The Afghans, guided by Nasir Ali Khan of Jullundur, attacked the unsuspecting residents, all of a sudden, and subjected them to an indiscriminate massacre and plunder. The Gurdwaras were set on fire and their buildings, including the historical pillar, called the *Thamm Sahib,* were all reduced to ashes and desecrated with the blood of slaughtered cows.[29]

SACK OF AMRITSAR

On his arrival at Lahore, the Shah stayed there only for a short time. He sent out a detachment against the Sikhs at Amritsar. The city was sacked, the buildings were razed to the ground, the tank was desecrated and a number of Sikhs were killed.

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28. *SPD.* xxi. 116; xxvii. 148. Cf. xxi. 111; Sarkar, ii. 71-2. Without referring to the original Marathi letter, H. R. Gupta in his *History of the Sikhs* (1739-68), 100, has quoted Rajwade, vol. I. p. 85, as his authority for the above, although it makes no mention of it. सीनंद of *SPD.* xxi 116 (p. 135) is Sinand, as Sirhind is sometimes called by the illiterate, and not Sanawar Maver Kot cannot be taken for Malerkot (or Maler-kotla) as Taimur Shah was not travelling by that route.

29. Nizam-ud-Din, *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* 210-23; Bute Shah *Tawarikh-i-Panjab,* 477; Purser, *Jullundur Settlement Report,* 29; *Prachin Panth Prakash,* 413; *Shamsher Khalsa,* 121, *Panth Prakash,* 721-22. According to the *Prachin Panth Prakash,* 413, Sodhi Wadbhag Singh was then in the hills (village Mairi in the district of Hoshiarpur), while, according to other authorities, he fled to the hills at the time of the massacre and saved his life. Ordinarily, the *Prachin Panth Prakash* is more reliable.

PRINCE TAIMUR INSTALLED AT LAHORE

He then installed his son, Taimur Shah, as the viceroy of the Panjab, including all his Indian possessions, and appointed Sardar Jahan Khan as his *naib,* minister as well as the commander-in-chief. An army of ten to fifteen thousand horse and foot with artillery was left at their disposal. To these, in due course, were added contingents raised in the country. With a view to winning over Ranjit Dev of Jammu to the side of Taimur and securing the north-eastern hills against any rebellion, the Shah bestowed on him the *parganahs* of Zafarwal, Sankhatra and Aurangabad of the present district of Sialkot.[30]

THE SHAH HARASSED BY CHARHAT SINGH

Having made these arrangments, the Shah left for Peshawar on his way to Qandahar via Kabul. Sardar Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia (grandfather of Maharaja Ranjit Singh), who had established himself at Gujranwala, was at this time found to be very active in harassing the Shah. With his picked Sikh *sawars,* he would pounce upon the Afghans in the evening, when they were pitching their tents for the night's halt, fight for some time and then disappear in the darkness with whatever he could lay his hands on. The Shah had to keep his men alert the whole night. But he would come up again at odd hours in the morning when they were packing and loading their baggage for the day's march. He kept lurking about the camp at some distance during the day to avoid a pitched battle. The Shah wished to fight a decisive battle with him, but Charhat Singh gave no such opportunity and kept on harrying him in this vexing manner day after day, till he had got to the river Indus and crossed it.[31]

30. *Husain Shahi,* 32; *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 132-33; *Tahmas Namah,* 66a-70a; *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 100, *Sialkot District Gazetteer,* 16.

31. *Haqiqat-i-Bina-o-Aruj-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan,* 36.

CHAPTER XV

TAIMUR SHAH IN THE PANJAB
May 1757-April 1758

The first thing that Prince Taimur Shah had to attend to was the establishment of peace and order in the disturbed province of the Panjab. Khwaja Ubedullah Khan and his deputy, Mirza Jan Khan, who had been reinstated in the government of Lahore in the end of November, 1756, were given military posts and retained on the personal staff of the Prince as advisers on administrative matters.[1]

ADINA BEG AS FAUJDAR OF JULLUNDUR

It is true that Ahmad Shah had ordered the appointment of Sarfraz Khan to the government of Doaba Bist Jullundur. But that arch intriguer, Adina Beg Khan, was still there lurking in the Shivalik hills ready to come down upon the plains in concert with the Sikhs as soon as an opportunity offered itself. Moreover, he had been confirmed in the government of the Doaba by Mughlani Begam to whom the territory had been originally given by the Shah. Taimur, therefore, decided to keep him there, provided he agreed to fall in line with the new government. Taimur wrote to Adina Beg saying, "Ahmad Shah Durrani had at first decided to march upon the Deccan and had, therefore, granted this country to the Begam. Now that the intention of going to the south has been abandoned, the government of this kingdom up to the (southern) boundary of Sirhind, has been assigned to us. You should, therefore, present yourself at our court. In the case of disobedience to this order, the entire Doaba shall be overrun and devastated and the war shall be carried on to the hills also."

These were the days when the Begam had accompanied the Shah as far as the Jhelum in the hope of regaining the

1. *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, 366-7.

territories. Tahmas Khan, the Begam's confidant, who had delivered the *khilat* to Adina Beg, was at this time with him in *Ghati* Balwan. Adina Beg was in a state of suspense. Tahmas suggested that a petition, together with a copy of the above *farman*, be sent to the Begam and that the messengers of Taimur Shah and Jahan Khan be kept dilly-dallying till a reply came from her. And he offered to go to the Begam himself. But on his arrival at Ravi, eight *kos* from Adina Nagar (now called Dinanagar), to which place Adina Beg had, in the meantime, shifted his camp, Tahmas came to know that the Begam had returned disappointed from the Shah's camp to Sialkot and thence to Lahore, where she lived in dilapidated quarters of the Sarai Hakim near the *chauk*. Here Dila Ram, the agent of Adina Beg Khan, entered into negotiations with Taimur Shah and succeeded in obtaining for his master the *faujdari* of the Jullundur Doab and exemption from personal attendance at Lahore on undertaking to pay thirty-six lakhs of rupees annually. Dila Ram stayed in Lahore as a personal surety for the payment of the tribute. Adina Beg Khan accepted the arrangements and regularly remitted his monthly instalments.[2]

Adina Beg Khan thus befriended, there was peace in the country, 'justice was done in the capital and the districts, and the roads became safe for traffic once more.'[3]

ATTACK ON AMRITSAR

Not long afterwards, intelligence was received by Jahan Khan that the Sikhs were assembling in large numbers at Chak Guru (Amritsar) for a bath in the sacred tank and were causing disturbance and that the forces of Taimur Shah with Sardar Haji Atai Khan and others, which were out subjugating the country and settling other affairs, 'were upon their heads'. Jahan Khan wrote to Haji Atai Khan to rush upon Chak Guru with all his troops on a certain day and said that he would himself be there on the same day to crush the Sikhs.

2. *Tahmas Namah*, 67b-69b, 78a; Ali-ud-Din, 253; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 100; Sarkar, ii. 67.

3. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii. 67.

According to the practice in Afghanistan, he proclaimed the *Jihad* against the Sikhs by the beat of drum in the city of Lahore and called upon everyone possessing a horse, irrespective of his being a servant of the state or not, to accompany him to the field of battle. Even the Begam, who had only twenty-five *sawars* in her service, had to send them all under Tahmas Khan. Qasim Khan also joined them. This force numbered about two thousand *sawars*. Leaving Lahore in the afternoon, they arrived at Sarai Khan-i-Khanan at a distance of six *kos*, and spent the night there. The next day they reached a place two *kos* from Amritsar. Jahan Khan was surprised to find that in spite of urgent orders, Haji Atai Khan had not as yet arrived.

The Sikhs had, in the meantime, received the intelligence of the march of the Lahore force against them. They rushed from all sides and the fighting began. The Lahore force was surrounded and attacked all at once. So heavy was the pressure of the Sikh attack that many of the Lahore troops were stricken with terror and took to their heels. Jahan Khan at this stage rushed forward furiously and firmly to save the situation. Tahmas Khan was then in attendance upon him with two hundred *sawars*. But as the Sikhs had left no opening for the flying people, they came back and joined their force. Jahan Khan unsheathed his sword in anger and hit some of the renegades crying out, "Why did you run away?" However, they all gathered together again, and began fighting steadily. But they were exhausted. At this stage Haji Atai Khan appeared on the scene with a fresh force and a park of artillery and turned the tables upon the Sikhs. It was impossible for them to stand against the ruthless fire of the guns and they sought safety in flight. The victorious force pursued the Sikhs as far as Chak Guru (Amritsar), and entered the precincts of the Sikh temple, where they cut down five Sikh foot-guards standing at the door. Mir Ni'mat Khan, one of the Lahore chiefs, was killed here in the struggle with the defenders. The victors then fixed their camp at Amritsar and after a few days' stay, Jahan Khan returned to Lahore.[4]

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4. *Tahmas Namah*, 76a-77b.

INCIDENT OF KOT BUDDHA RAMDAS

This attack of Taimur's forces upon the holy temple and city of the Sikhs added fuel to the fire of the Sikh fury against the Afghans. Then came another incident which further aggravated the situation. Two Afghan troopers coming from Sirhind were, by chance, killed in the territory of Kot Buddha Ramdas. On receipt of this information, Jahan Khan despatched a few mounted bailiffs to the *Chaudhri* of the place, evidently to compel him to produce the culprits. Following the custom of their own country, they tortured the *Chaudhri* and had nearly killed him. He, however, managed to fly away and saved his life. As he was an important and well-known *Sardar* of the Sikhs, 'the entire Sikh community felt insulted at this outrage'' "From that very moment," says Tahmas Khan, "the peace and order that had been established in the country was upset, and the Sikhs rose in rebellion on all four sides."[5]

CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS ADINA BEG

But the situation was worsened by Jahan Khan's unstatesmanlike attitude towards Adina Beg Khan, the *jaugdar* of the Jullundur Doab, which was then the favourite resort of the Sikhs. Adina Beg, as we know, had agreed to pay thirty-six lakhs of rupees annually on the definite understanding that he should be exempted from personal attendance at the court of Taimur Shah, that he would regularly remit his instalments of the revenue and that his *Vakil,* Dila Ram, would stay permanently at Lahore to transact the political business of the Doaba and to look to the payment of money.[6]

But in spite of it, some interested people instigated Taimur Shah against him, evidently, under a false sense of prestige and under pressure for money required to run the administration of the country "Adina Beg Khan has property worth lakhs," said they, "and he intentionally avoids attendance at the royal *darbar.* If he is sent for, he would

5. *Tahmas Namah,* 77b-78a
6. *Tahmas Namah,* 78a; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 253-54.

certainly not come. Having arrested and imprisoned him for that fault (of disobedience), countless money may be had of him, and satisfactory arrangements will also be made for the country." The suggestion appealed to the inexperienced and needy prince and he issued the necessary orders to Jahan Khan.

Jahan Khan sent his messengers to Adina Beg Khan demanding his presence at Lahore. Adina Beg, on the other hand, had come to know about the real intentions of Taimur. He detained the messengers under the false promise of making arrangements for the journey, and, in the meantime, completed his arrangements for a flight into the innermost and inaccessible recesses of the Shivaliks. Not receiving any favourable reply from Adina Beg Khan, Jahan Khan threw his agent, Dila Ram, into prison. Mughlani Begam stood personal surety for the payment of six lakhs of rupees, secured his release and contrived his escape to his master's place, asking him to make immediate arrangements for the payment of the money. For this purpose, she had already sent to him some of her jewels so that he might raise the required funds against them and absolve her from her personal obligations. Jahan Khan was highly enraged on receipt of this intelligence and ordered the arrest of the Begam. But she had already gone to his ladies' apartments, where the furious Khan himself beat her with a stick. The Begam promised to pay up the amount in jewels. Jahan Khan was not satisfied with this. Under his orders the Begam's residence was ransacked and all her property was confiscated.[7]

Jahan Khan then turned his attention to Adina Beg and resorted to trickery. He detailed *Mirzada* Ghulam Husain, who was looked upon by Adina Beg with reverence, to persuade him, while he himself began military preparations to fall upon him unawares. Adina Beg despatched his agents to Lahore with presents for the prince to secure exemption from personal attendance at Lahore. He pleaded his inability to leave his territories at that time. The Sikhs, he said, were waiting for an opportunity to pounce upon the

7. *Tahmas Namah*, 79b-80a.

Doaba, and would, as soon as he left his headquarters, create a disturbance which would be impossible to suppress. But it was all in vain. The prince insisted upon his presence in Lahore. In the meantime, the ever-vigilant *harkaras* of Adina Beg warned him of the impending attack and he slipped into the hills of Nalagarh.[8]

MIRZA JAN JOINED ADINA BEG

At this time Mirza Jan Khan also left Jahan Khan and joined Adina Beg Khan. Mirza Jan had found it difficult to get on with the Afghan minister, who openly accused him of intriguing with the Sikhs. Jahan Khan evidently harboured some personal grudge against him and, with a view to disgracing him publicly, called upon him to appear at the office of the *diwan* and submit the accounts of the period when he held the country during the Shah's absence in Hindustan. Mirza Jan Khan sent back word to say: "If the object of the Khan by these preliminaries is to take possession of my property, I am ready I have, in fact, no attachment to it. It may be taken away just now. But if it is intended to insult and disgrace this well-wisher of the state, I shall not submit to it." At the same time he knew of the greedy nature of the Khan. Therefore, he sent to him a pair of Turkish horses with gold and silver trappings, a few pieces of fine silk and some money as presents to ward off the danger. But this failed to appease him. He took possession of the presents and ordered his bailiffs to proceed to Mirza Jan's residence and produce him, willing or otherwise, in the *diwan's* court. He, then, realized the seriousness of the situation, purchased the goodwill of the bailiffs and sent them back with the promise that he would appear in the *diwan's* court the next morning. He had no alternative other than flying for his life. He could either go to Sukh Jiwan in Kashmir or to Adina Beg Khan in the Shivaliks. But as Sukh Jiwan was then known to be a faithful servant of Ahmad Shah and was also a non-Muslim, the choice fell on Adina Beg, and at midnight Mirza Jan Khan left for the

8. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 254; *History of the Panjab* (Allen & Co.), i. 204; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, 80.

Shivaliks. Nothing could have been more welcome to Adina Beg at this time than the defection of Mirza Jan Khan from the Afghans and his arrival in his own camp.[9]

MURAD KHAN LEADS AN EXPEDITION AGAINST ADINA BEG

The escape of Mirza Jan to the camp of Adina Beg and the shelter given to him afforded another cause to Jahan Khan to march an army against him. Hearing of the disturbances in the Panjab, Ahmad Shah had ordered Murad Khan, the governor of Multan, to proceed to Lahore with an army of ten thousand horse to assist Jahan Khan in his military operations against the Sikhs. Jahan Khan gave the command of this expeditionary force against Adina Beg Khan to Murad Khan with Sarfraz Khan, the *faujdar*-designate of the Doaba, and Buland Khan as his deputies. Crossing the Beas, the Afghans took to south-easterly direction, as Adina Beg was then known to be lurking about the river Sutlej near Jaijon in the Hoshiarpur District.[10]

Adina Beg Khan had, in the meantime, entered into negotiations with Sodhi Wadbhag Singh and Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The Sikhs were already burning with rage against the Afghans at the massacres at Kartarpur and Amritsar and the desecration of their Gurdwaras. To them this was a God-sent opportunity and they availed themselves of it with great eagerness. Adina Beg also won over Sidiq Beg, the Deputy Governor of Sirhind, and Raja Bhup Singh.[11]

AFGHANS WORSTED IN THE BATTLE OF MAHILPUR

With an army of twenty-five thousand *sawars,* he issued forth from the hills to meet the Afghans advancing towards him. The two armies grappled with each other near the town of Mahilpur in the district of Hoshiarpur, and a sanguinary battle ensued. As it was difficult for the Sikhs to distinguish between the Muslim soldiers of Adina Beg and those of the Afghans, it was arranged that the soldiers of Adina Beg should wear tufts of grass on their heads. In

9. *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 372.

10. *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 365; *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 100; *Ghulam Ali, Shah Alam Namah,* 55-6.

11. *Shah Alam Namah,* 55-6, *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* 237.

spite of the Afghans being equipped with light pieces of artillery, they could not stand against the furious attacks of the Sikhs and were put to flight. Karam Singh of Paijgarh, belonging to the *dera* (battalion) of Shyam Singh, distinguished himself by his bravery in this battle. Buland Khan died fighting in the field. Murad Khan fled in panic to Lahore, leaving all his equipage to fall into the hands of the Sikhs. The victorious Sikhs then rushed upon the city of Jullundur and wreaked their vengeance upon it. Sa'adat Khan Afridi was defeated in a skirmish and the city lay prostrate at their feet. Sodhi Wadbhag Singh egged them on to a general plunder and was personally responsible for some of the excesses committed by them. The dead body of Nasir Ali, who had been responsible for the wholesale slaughter at Kartarpur and for burning the Thamm Sahib Gurdwara, was dragged out of his grave and subjected to indignities. In this general *melee* and confusion, the adventurous people of the village of Dhogri and its neighbourhood also rushed into Jullundur and shared in the loot. Adina Beg, at last, came to its rescue and paid to the Sikhs a tribute of a lakh and a quarter of rupees to purchase their good-will.[12]

THE SIKHS RANSACKED THE JULLUNDUR DOAB

Flushed with victory, the Sikhs grew bolder still. They ransacked the whole of the Doaba and pushed on to the neighbourhood of Lahore, while Adina Beg Khan returned to his own headquarters. "Thousands of Sikhs raided the city (of Lahore) every night and plundered the outlying suburbs, but no one dared come out of the city to repel them," says Tahmas Khan, an eye-witness. "Rather, the gates were ordered to be closed at about 10 o'clock at night. The situation became worse day by day, and the administration of the state was all upset."[13]

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12. *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 100; *Tahmas Namah,* 78a; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg,* 19; *Husain Shahi,* 33; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 547; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 908-9; *Shah Alam Namah,* 55-56; Ali Ibrahim, 18; *Chahar Gulshan-i-Panjab,* 132; *Prachin Panth Prakash,* 413-22; *Panth Prakash* (Gian Singh), 721-30; Purser, *Jullundur Settlement Report,* 29

13. *Tahmas Namah,* 78a, b; Ahmad Shah Batalia, *Tarikh-i-Hind,* 872 (326).

According to a Marathi despatch of the 25th of Rabi-ul-Akhir, 1171 A.H., January 6, 1758, based on the letters of Adina Beg and Dila Ram, Sa'adat Khan Afridi, after his defeat in Jullundur, had run away to the hills, and the Sikhs began to collect tribute from the people of the Doaba in the name of *karah prasad* (a consecrated sweet pudding made of flour, *ghee* and sugar). The subedar of Lahore sent an army of twenty-five thousand horse and foot under Khwajah Ubaid (Ullah) Khan to fight the Sikhs, the despatch continues, "but the said Khan was defeated in battle. Many of his captains were killed and his camp and baggage were plundered. All the artillery that the Shah had left behind was taken away."

The Sikhs then crossed into the Bari Doab and extended their raids to the neighbourhood of Batala and Kalanaur, and also to the suburbs of Lahore, as mentioned above.[14]

Jahan Khan was all fury to hear of the disastrous defeat of Murad Khan and the extension of the power of the Sikhs. He hurriedly moved from Lahore and met the retreating force at Batala. On seeing Murad Khan at the *talab* (Tank) of Shamsher Khan, he flew into a rage and ordered him to be publicly flogged. But it was all in vain. The position lost in the Jullundur Doab could not be regained.[15]

At the same time came the sad news of the defeat of Zafran Khan, who had been sent to take charge of the government of Kashmir.[16] But that was not all. The worst that resulted in the flight of Jahan Khan himself, together with Prince Taimur Shah, had yet to come. And that was

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14. *SPD.* II. 83; Ahmad Shah Batalia, *Tarikh-i-Hind,* 872

15. Ahmad Shah Batalia, *Tarikh-i-Hind,* 872. According to this writer, Murad Khan fought only half-heartedly, and as he had been won over by Shah Wali Khan, who was an enemy of Jahan Khan, he fled from the field without making any serious effort. The author further states that even the disturbances in the Doaba Bist Jullundur had been created by Adina Beg Khan at the instigation of Shah Wali Khan. Nizam-ud-Din Ishrat, in his *Shah-Namah-i-Ahmadiya,* also supports the view of Ahmad Shah in respect of Murad Khan's half-heartedness owing to his 'narrow-mindedness' towards Sarfraz Khan (Vide p. 239-41).

16. *Tahmas Namah,* 78a.

the combined and sweeping raid of the Marathas and the Sikhs, who carried everything before them.

FEARS OF ADINA BEG

Adina Beg Khan had, no doubt, repelled the attacks of Sarfraz Khan and Murad Khan on the Jullundur Doab. But he knew he could not face the stronger forces of Jahan Khan, much less oppose, with success, the superior and better equipped armies of His Afghan Majesty Ahmad Shah Durrani who might come down any time to retaliate the affront offered to his son and representative in the Panjab. As for the Sikhs, they had their own aspirations. They could not always be expected to fight his battles. They had not as yet forgotten the days of their independent rule under Banda Singh, and they eagerly looked forward to the day when 'the Khalsa shall rule and no refractory shall exist (*Raj Karega Khalsa Yaki Rahe Na Koe*)." They had already embarked on a career of conquest, and now might, at any time, turn upon him and convert his territories[17] into their own, and then raise, on the ruins of the Afghan dominions in the Panjab, the structure of their own independent kingdom as it actually came to be a living fact six years later (1764). Fertile in imagination and political sagacity, Adina Beg Khan tapped a more fruitful source and opened negotiations with the Marathas.

ADINA BEG CALLS IN THE MARATHAS

Balaji Rao Peshwa's brother, Raghunath Rao, was then stationed in the neighbourhood of Delhi with a vast army. He had arrived there with Malhar Rao Holkar in August, 1757, and had since driven out Najib-ud-Daulah from Delhi and Saharanpur This had alarmed Abdus Samad Khan Muhammadzai, the Afghan governor of Sirhind, and he raised a large force to meet them But the Marathas did not move towards Sirhind and there was no conflict. It was during these days, before the 6th of January, 1758, that Har Lal and Sidiq Beg, the envoys of Adina Beg Khan, opened negotiations with Raghunath Rao, inviting the Marathas to

17. *Prachin Panth Prakas* 15-16; *Tahmas Namah*, 78b.

the Panjab and offering to pay one lakh of rupees per day when they were marching, and fifty thousand when halting.[18]

SACK OF SIRHIND

Raghunath Rao readily accepted the offer and marched with the Maratha army to Sirhind towards the end of February, 1758. Passing through Ambala, Mughal-di-Sarai, Rajpura and Sarai Banjara, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Sirhind on the 30th of Phagan, 1814 Bk., March 9, 1758. As previously arranged, Adina Beg Khan and his Sikh allies also joined the Marathas there. The Sikhs were particularly furious against the city of Sirhind. It was here that the younger sons of their Guru Gobind Singh had been butchered to death. They had, therefore, taken a promise from Adina Beg that they should be allowed to enter the city first of all and sack it.[19]

Abdus Samad Khan had started his fortifications as early as the second week of January, 1758, when he had returned from his invasion of Sunam in the territory of Sardar Ala Singh of Patiala. But Sirhind could not stand the siege for long and was captured on the 21st of March, 1758. The Sikhs were the first to enter it and they subjected it to a wholesale plunder. Abdus Samad Khan and Jangbaz Khan tried to fly away but they were overtaken and captured along with some other Afghan captains. Raghunath Rao, however, treated them well. The Marathas were the next to plunder the town, and, on the third day, even the people of the neighbouring villages rushed in and carried away whatever they could lay their hands on. 'Even the mansions of rich

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18. *Tahmas Namah*, 78b-79a; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 100; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 909; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 373-74; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 164b; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg*, 11.

Karam Singh, *Maharaj Ala Singh*, 174-6 (Ladha Mall's letter to Ala Singh, 29th of Phagan, 1814 Bk). Abdus Samad's force besieged Malhar Rao's women in Shahabad in the middle of January, 1758, when they were on a visit to Thanesar and Kurukshetra. But the Maratha escort succeeded in not only extricating the ladies from the Afghan encirclement, but also in beating the Afghans back and capturing some of their horses. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 150b-151a.

19. *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 422-23; Karam Singh, *Maharaj Ala Singh*, 176-77.

people were razed to the ground and their timber taken away; their floors were dug up and all that was recovered was removed.'[20]

The Marathas were naturally jealous of the Sikhs, who had had the lion's share in the loot of Sirhind. A skirmish took place between them but peace was soon brought about by Adina Beg Khan. It was then agreed that, as there was a fear of a collision between the two warrior peoples, the Sikhs, who numbered about fifteen thousand, should always keep two stages ahead of the Marathas in their march upon Lahore.[21]

ADINA BEG WRITES TO JAHAN KHAN

It will be interesting to know that even in this open secret of his invitation to, and alliance with, the Marathas, Adina Beg tried to play a double game. He wrote to Jahan Khan at Lahore that the Marathas from the Deccan had sprung a surprise upon the Panjab and that he was joining their camp as a matter of time-serving policy. As his faithful servant, he said, he was writing to inform Jahan Khan that, as the Deccanis were marching at a rapid speed (of one hundred *kos* a day!), he should, without a moment's delay, advance to oppose them. Adina Beg's object in writing this to Jahan Khan evidently was to dupe him into the belief of his loyalty to the Afghan government and to keep the door of negotiations open.[22]

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20 *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 164b, 165a; *Tazkhirah-i-Imad,* 376-79; *Tahmas Namah,* 79a, 81a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 547; Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs,* 106.

For a detailed study of Abdus Samad Khan's invasion of Sunam, see *Tazkirah-i-Khandan-i-Maharaja Karam Singh,* 61-62; Karam Singh, *Maharaj Ala Singh,* 172-73

Ala Singh had at that time in the camp of the Marathas, a vakil, whose letter dated the 29th of Phagan, 1814Bk, addressed to his master, contains the details of the march of the Marathas to Sirhind—Vide *Kaghzat-i-Bhagwant Rai,* referred to in Karam Singh's *Maharaj Ala Singh,* 176. footnote

Ala Singh was then at Anandpur-Keso. Raghunath Rao sent for him, but Ala Singh sent his representative, Biram Dhillon, to Ladha Mal *Vakil* for mutual consultations

21. *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 379-80; *Prachin Panth Prakash,* 423-4.

22 *Tahmas Namah,* 11-12. [Continued on p. 202

JAHAN KHAN MOVED OUT AGAINST THE SIKHS AND MARATHAS

On receipt of the intelligence of the siege of Sirhind, Jahan Khan mobilized all his army for the reinforcement of Abdus Samad Khan and moved out of the city of Lahore. Mughlani Begam was imprisoned in the palace of Taimur Shah in the fort, and her confidant, Tahmas Khan, was ordered to join his camp. The whole army moved up to Batala. From there Yusaf Khan, superintendent of the Prince's court (*darogha-i-diwan khana*), was sent with an advance guard, evidently, to watch the fords of the Sutlej. It was suggested to Jahan Khan that his advance guard was no match for the seasoned soldiers of the Marathas and the Sikhs, nor was it well-provisioned. In reply he turned round and said, "The ripe crop of wheat, barley and other corn is there in plenty in the country. Why do they want any expenses? God willing, they shall be demobilized in ten to fifteen days." The advance guard moved into the Hoshiarpur district, where they roamed about for a few days. In the meantime, Sirhind was captured by the enemy. No sooner did they receive this news than they recrossed the Beas at the ferry of Rahila. With all his force Jahan Khan, then, moved to the town of Jalalabad, to bar the passage of the invaders. He stayed there for eight days. In the meantime they had crossed into the Doaba and were moving up by a different route. Jahan Khan found his position risky at Jalalabad and hurried back to Lahore.[23]

PRINCE TAIMUR AND JAHAN KHAN LEFT LAHORE

With the arrival of the combined forces of the Marathas, Adina Beg Khan and the Sikhs in the neighbourhood,

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According to Ali-ud-Din's *Ibrat Namah*, Adina Beg Khan sent the following message to Jahan Khan: "Having conquered the whole of India, the Marathas have invaded the Panjab. If you are strong enough to oppose them, mobilize your army and come out to fight. If not, I can be of service to you in keeping them engaged in the *bandobast* of the hill territories and you may (in the meantime) conveniently remove the Prince and the ladies to Afghanistan. Do not blame me afterwards that I did not inform you of this sudden calamity." *Vide*, p 254-5.

23. *Tahmas Namah*, 80a-81b.

it became impossible for Jahan Khan to stay in Lahore. The fort was out of repair and, as the harvesting had not as yet begun, it was not sufficiently provisioned for any long-drawn siege. Moreover, he had no heavy pieces of artillery to keep the besiegers away for long. Friends and allies from amongst the aristocracy he had hardly any, and the enemies he had in plenty. He had alienated the sympathies of the Sikh population, who were only waiting for a chance to drive him away. His Afghan and Persian troops numbered only a few thousand, and there was no hope of reinforcement from the Shah, who was himself busy with the affairs of state at home. In these circumstances Prince Taimur was not free from danger. Jahan Khan was then left with the only alternative of flying away to Afghanistan before the arrival of the invaders.[24]

On or about the 17th of April, 1758, the day following his return to Lahore, Jahan Khan set up a temporary camp on the other side of the river Ravi, and sent out, first of all, the mother of Prince Taimur and his own relations. The other sardars of the army also carried their belongings to the camp. As the number of animals for transport was not sufficient, two or three trips had to be made to carry the baggage and property across the river. When it was reported to Jahan Khan that some of his soldiers were hiding themselves in the city, he dragged them out and executed them in the *Chauk*.[25]

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24. *Husain Shahi*, 34-5; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 165a; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 909; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 381-2; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii. 73-74; *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh*, 20.

25. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 547, *Tahmas Namah*, 81b; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, 381.

The exact date of Taimur and Jahan Khan's departure is not known to be recorded in any of the extant Persian and Marathi works. The *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* has placed it (*dar ashra-i-awwal-i-Sha'-ban-ul-Azam*) in the first ten days of Sha'ban, 1171, Hijri, ending with the 19th of April, 1758. The last day of the *Ashra* (the 10th of Sha'ban, April 19) has, therefore, to be taken as the day of the final departure. According to the *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, 381, the Marathas crossed the Sutlej into the Doaba at Ludhiana (*dar-awail-i-mah-i Sha'ban*) in the beginning (on the 2nd or 3rd) of Sha'ban (April 11 or 12). Jahan Khan must have received this intelligence at Jalala-

Mughlani Begam was released from the fort with orders to send all her *sawars* and footmen, fully equipped, to the camp. While her *sawars* were pleading poverty, four *sazawals*, or bailiffs, carried urgent orders from Jahan Khan to the Begam, desiring her to appear at his residence with her younger daughter called Sahibzadi. This stupefied the Begam, who asked Tahmas Khan to take the girl to the Afghan as desired. When he remonstrated with her on the advisability of sending the girl in that disgraceful way, she said, "The daughter is not dearer than my life." "Quite," said Tahmas, "but the object of sending for you, as far as I can understand, is to keep you under surveillance as long as they are crossing the river. As you have been the *subadar* of the place, he is afraid lest, now when his army is about to fly away, you should close the gates and stop his men from carrying away their belongings. Beyond this, he has no other intention. Keeping your eyes on the grace of the divine Protector, you should ride and go." The Begam at once fell down at his feet and said, "I now know that by such deceitful words, you wish to send me away." Tahmas Khan, however, ultimately succeeded in persuading her. Accompanied by Tahmas Khan and two other men, Shaikh Azim and Ali Quli, she went to the *Zanana* (ladies' apartments) of Jahan Khan and spent the night there. News arrived on the following morning, April 18, that Adina Beg Khan and the Maratha vanguard under Manaji Paygude and two other captains had crossed the river Beas and arrived at a distance of twelve miles from Lahore. At noon Prince Taimur left his capital

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bad on the 4th of Sha'ban, April 13. Tahmas Khan tells us (in *Tahmas Namah*, 81b) that Jahan Khan arrived at Lahore in four days, that is, on the 16th of April.

The 17th of April, therefore, may be taken as the safest date, on which Jahan Khan set up his camp on the other side of the river Ravi, the 19th being the date of his final departure for Afghanistan. Hari Raghunath Bhide's letter written from Lahore on, or a day after, Chaitra Sudi 13, 1815 Bikrami, April 21, 1758 (*SPD.* XXVII. 218), giving details of the happenings on the east bank of the Chanab, would seem to slightly upset this chronological arrangement. It can, however, be reconciled on the presumption that this letter was written immediately after the receipt of news through some fast despatch-riders.

and crossed over to the other side of the Ravi, followed by Jahan Khan. The unnecessary and cumbersome baggage was set on fire and the ladies of the *haram* were sent away with the eunuchs. The Begam and her daughter, Sahibzadi, then returned to Lahore, and heaved a sigh of relief. Early in the morning of the 19th, Taimur and Jahan Khan also rode away, leaving a small force under Mir Hazar Khan to cover their rear.[26]

THE AFGHANS PURSUED AND HARASSED

Jahan Khan halted in Kachi Sarai at Eminabad but was overtaken by the Marathas and the Sikhs with Khwaja Mirza Jan. But in the absence of artillery and other material, he could not be surrounded and captured. He successfully slipped out of their hands and safely crossed the river Chanab near Wazirabad with his Durrani tribesmen. As the river was in high flood, the pursuers could not follow him up. But they had their hands full on the eastern bank. On crossing the river Ravi, Mirza Jan had defeated and driven away Mir Hazar Khan and had then fallen upon the retiring force of Jahan Khan. Most of his Uzbak, Qizzilbash and Afghan troops and the camp and baggage were left behind for want of boats, etc., and they all fell into the hands of the Marathas and the Sikhs. The leading Sikh sardars, who took part in

26. *Tahmas Namah*, 81b-82b, 83b; *SPD*. XXVII. 218, dated Chaitra Sudi 13, April 21, 1758. There may be a difference of a day or two in the dates given above in the text.

At about 9 o'clock on April 19, Ashur Ali, with the advance guard of 500 Marathas and 100 of Mirza Jan's *sawars*, arrived at the Delhi Gate of Lahore and produced letters from the authorities Tahmas Khan, who had been patrolling the streets during the night and recognized Ashur Ali Khan, opened the gate and placed the city into their hands. Early in the following morning, Mirza Jan Khan arrived at the Ravi, crossed the river, defeated Mir Hazar Khan and hastened forward against Jahan Khan Adina Beg Khan and the main Maratha and Sikh armies came soon afterwards and occupied Lahore.—*Tahmas Namah*.

Ali-ud-Din tells us that on their arrival at Amritsar, the Marathas paid a reverential visit to the Sikh Temple and that the Sikh chiefs came and visited the Southerners and were honoured. *Ibrat Namah*, 255.

this campaign with ten to fifteen thousand Sikh *Sawars,* were Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia, Tara Singh Ghaiba, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Hari Singh, Lehna Singh, Gujjar Singh and Jhanda Singh Bhangi. The Afghan captives were carried by the Sikhs to Amritsar, where they were forced to clean the sacred Sikh tank which Ahmad Shah and Jahan Khan had desecrated and filled up with rubbish.[27]

27. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 165a; *Tahmas Namah,* 83b; *Tazkirah-i-Imad,* 382; *Husain Shahi,* 35; *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 134; *Risalah-i-Nanak Shah,* 128b; *Waqiat-i-Durrani,* 11; Elphinstone, *Caubul,* 290, *Tarikh-i Gujranwala,* 19; *Haqiqat-i-Bina-o-Aruj-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan,* 37.

The last authority gives the number of the Afghan captives as two hundred.

Chapter XVI

REBELLION OF NASEER KHAN OF KALAT (1759 A.D.)

On his return to Afghanistan from his fourth Indian invasion, Ahmad Shah Durrani busied himself with administrative affairs of state. The news of the disturbances caused by the Sikhs either with the connivance of, or in alliance with, Adina Beg Khan began pouring in towards the end of the year 1757. But his peaceful life was disturbed by the affront offered to his son and viceroy by Adina Beg Khan with the help of the Sikhs, who had not only defeated Sarfaraz Khan, the governor-designate of Doaba Bist Jullundur, and killed Buland Khan in the battle of Mahilpur, but also sacked the town of Jullundur. Added to this was the news of the advance of the Marathas upon the Panjab. Ahmad Shah was preparing to march to India when he received the disquieting news of the rebellion of Naseer Khan in Baluchistan.

EARLY HISTORY OF NASEER KHAN

Naseer Khan is known to history as one of the most popular Brahui chiefs of Kalat, Baluchistan. He was the third and the youngest son of Mir Abdullah Khan Brahui by Bibi Maryam of the Altazei clan, the other brothers being Altaz Khan, also known as Haji Muhammad Khan, from the same mother, and Muhabbat Khan from Jatgal. On the death of Mir Abdullah Khan, Mir Muhabbat Khan succeeded his father and established himself at Kalat, giving Mastung to Haji Muhammad Khan. But the Haji proved faithless to his brother. After two years, Haji Muhammad Khan bribed the gate-keepers of Kalat and entered that city during one *Id* night. He imprisoned Mir Muhabbat Khan and became the master of Kalat. However, Muhabbat soon managed to escape from the prison and roamed about for some time in the hope of securing help from some Baluch tribes to regain his lost position. Disappointed from all sides, he ultimately

returned to his brother at Kalat and was given Mastung. When the forces of Nadir Shah under Pir Muhammad and Asilmas Khan marched into Baluchistan by way of Bandar Abbas and the Makaran coast, Muhabbat Khan tried to check their progress but was defeated. Nadir Shah had, in the meantime, conquered Qandahar. Giving up resistance, Mir Muhabbat Khan and Haji Muhammad Khan (Mir Altaz Khan) went to Qandahar and submitted to him. As Haji Muhammad Khan had proved himself to be a tyrant and had abandoned himself to the most licentious way of life, he had become very unpopular with the Brahui chiefs, who unanimously declared in favour of Mir Muhabbat Khan and appealed to the Persian conqueror to confirm him in the government of Kalat. Nadir Shah threw the tyrant in prison and appointed Mir Muhabbat in his place. Naseer Khan, who was then a minor, his mother, Bibi Maryam, and Murad Ali, son of Haji Muhammad Khan, were carried away as hostages for the good behaviour of Muhabbat Khan.[1]

On the death of Nadir Shah, Naseer Khan gained his liberty and accompanied Ahmad Shah Durrani to Qandahar. He represented the Brahui tribe at the election of Ahmad Shah to the throne of the independent kingdom of Afghanistan and voted in his favour, thus acknowledging him as his suzerain. Muhabbat Khan, Naseer Khan's brother, soon lost the confidence of the Durrani king by taking part in Luqman Khan's rebellion and was displaced by Naseer Khan by his command in 1749. Naseer Khan became one of the most favoured generals of Ahmad Shah, next only to Sardar Jahan Khan, and followed his suzerain into the field. He accompanied the Shah on his expeditions to Khurasan and the

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1. Akhund Muhammad Siddiq, quoted by Rai Bahadur Hattu Ram in his *Tarikh-i-Baluchistan*, 187-93; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 117; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 290. According to Elphinstone, it was Haji Khan who was ruling at Kalat at the time of Luqman Khan's rebellion and it was he who was displaced by Naseer Khan. Pottinger, however, gives a different story. Encouraged by Nadir Shah and hailed by the dissatisfied citizens of Kalat, Naseer Khan "one day entered his apartments when alone, and stabbed him (Haji Muhammad Khan) to the heart." *Vide* Pottinger's *Travels*, 280-1.

first three campaigns in India, and performed his part loyally and bravely. Never had any thing been noticed in his attitude and behaviour which could at any time be interpreted as dissatisfaction with the Shah's suzerainty. "Possibly all this time," says Malleson, "he was watching his opportunity." Naseer Khan, in that case, must have been a very shrewd man indeed. In quietly acknowledging Ahmad Shah as his overlord, "he seems to have been actuated," according to Henry Pottinger, "by a consideration of that (Afghan) kingdom to his dominions, and a wish to avoid a war."[2] But now when Ahmad Shah's armies in India had been defeated, his son and viceroy, Prince Taimur Shah, had been driven out of the Panjab, his ablest general, Jahan Khan, had been rendered helpless and forced to fly away, and his highly placed officers like Abdus Samad Khan and Jangbaz Khan had been taken prisoners by the Marathas and the Sikhs who had become the undisputed masters of his erstwhile Indian empire, Naseer Khan could, as well, throw off the Durrani yoke and strike a blow for his independence.

NASEER KHAN DECLARED HIS INDEPENDENCE—SHAH DESPATCHED AN ARMY AGAINST HIM

This decided, Naseer Khan declared himself independent. Ahmad Shah had, therefore, to suspend his preparations for an expedition to India. But he could not be easily persuaded to lead an army against Naseer Khan, whom he had always looked upon as an esteemed friend, a devoted ally and a brave soldier. He tried every means of conciliation to induce him to return to his alliance and agree to pay his usual tribute. Naseer Khan treated the advances of Ahmad Shah with contempt and sent to him, in reply, a register of the Baluch army which exhibited an aggregate of two hundred and fifty thousand armed men ready to take up arms against him. Left with no alternative, the Shah had to despatch an army against Naseer Khan under the command of his prime minister, Shah Wali Khan.

2. Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*, 284-5; Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, 84; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 290; Pottinger, *Travels*, 282.

The *Tarikh-i-Mirat-i-Daulat-i-Abbasi* (a history of the Daudpotras of Bahawalpur) by Daulat Rai, however, gives a different reason for the march of the Afghan troops against Naseer Khan. According to him, Naseer Khan was guilty of interfering with the authority of the Shah in the affairs of Sindh. On the death of Nur Muhammad Kalhora of Sindh, he was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Murad Khan, who continued in the enjoyment of absolute authority for nearly five years. But he was a man of violent nature and was, therefore, put in confinement by his nobles who invited his brother, Mian Ghulam Shah, and raised him to the throne. In the meantime, the third brother, Atar Khan, secured his nomination by Ahmad Shah Durrani and arrived at Shikarpur with an Afghan army under the command of Haji Atai Khan. The Haji installed the nominee of the Shah on the throne of Sindh and returned to Qandahar. Mian Ghulam Shah had fled to Jaisalmer in Rajputana. The exile then entered into negotiations with Amir Muhammad Mubarak Khan Abbasi of Bahawalpur and besought his help in regaining his lost throne. The Bahawalpur chief sent an army under the command of his own brother, Muhammad Fateh Khan, to reinstate Mian Ghulam Shah. Atar Khan and his brother, Ahmad Yar Khan, marched out to oppose the Daudpotra army but were worsted and driven out. They fled towards Gunjaba and Kalat on their way to the capital of Ahmad Shah Durrani. On arrival at Kalat, they were captured by Naseer Khan and thrown into prison, for reasons not known to history. Diwan Gidu Mall, the ambassador of Sindh at the court of the Shah since the days of Mian Khudayar Khan represented this act of Naseer Khan, in laying his hands upon the nominee of the Shah, as an affront to the Shah himself. On account of this provocation, the troops of Ahmad Shah marched against Naseer Khan under the command of his minister, Shah Wali Khan.[3]

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3. *Tarikh-i-Mirat-i-Daulat-i-Abbasi*, 46-51 (107-110). Cf Shahamat Ali, *Picturesque Sketches in India (The History of Bahawalpur)*, 43-5.

SHAH WALI KHAN WORSTED

Naseer Khan was not frightened at the approach of the Afghan army. He levied his feudal troops, and as soon as he was informed of the arrival of Shah Wali, he issued forth from Mastung[4] to meet him. The battle was fought near the village of Pringuez (Pringowadh, of Pottinger's *Travels*). The troops of Shah Wali Khan were worsted and forced to retire to a distance of thirty miles from the field of action.

NASEER KHAN DEFEATED BY THE SHAH

Despatch-riders were immediately sent to inform the Shah of the defeat suffered by the Afghans at the hands of the Baluch chief and to request him to arrange for an early reinforcement of his dejected army. Although this check was of little consequence in itself, the Shah feared lest it should acquire larger importance from the exaggerated manner in which it might be represented to the other tribes. He, therefore, placed himself at the head of his remaining troops and hastened to the support of his discomfited premier. The very presence of the Shah with his troops changed the situation. In the battle that ensued near the camp of Mastung, three miles and a half from the former field of action, Naseer Khan was defeated and he retreated in all haste to his stronger position in Kalat. This place he had placed in good defence ready to receive his Afghan assailants. Unlike Naseer Khan, Ahmad Shah followed up his victory and chased the Baluch chief to his fortifications and laid siege to them.

SIEGE OF KALAT

"Dashing troops, when well led, in the open field," says Colonel Malleson, "the Afghans have always proved indifferent soldiers when engaged in sieges. It is not the sort of work in which horsemen and mountaineers excel. It proved on this occasion, as it had proved before, and has proved

4. Mastung is the second important town of the Kalat State and lies about seventy miles to the north of Kalat on the road to Quetta.

since. After a protracted cannonade, breaches were made in the wall, and five different assaults were delivered in succession. They all failed." Barkhurdar Khan, on one occasion, delivered an assault upon Kalat in which two important Brahui chiefs, Qasim Khan and Amir Khan of the Muhammad Hasani tribe, were killed. This was the fifth assault and, as usual, it failed, as mentioned above, to make any impression upon the fortifications of Naseer Khan. It has been urged in excuse for these failures that the Afghan chiefs in the army of the Shah were not wholly in favour of the reduction of Kalat. Baluchistan had served for the discontented Afghans the purpose of a Cave of Adullam, offering to them a safe asylum in times of distressful need. According to Akhund Muhammad Siddiq, even Shah Wali Khan was favourably disposed towards him and always looked for a chance to bring about reconciliation between Ahmad Shah and Naseer Khan. With the exception of Barkhurdar Khan, all other Afghan Sardars were of the same view as the premier, who "in particular, maintained a correspondence with Naseer," says Elphinstone, "and encouraged him to hold out by representing the disposition of the Dooraune lords, and pointing out the embarrassment which the king would suffer from the advanced season."

NEGOTIATIONS

"It is related as an anecdote of Naseer Khan's military talents, and also one that tended to shorten the siege of Kalat," says Henry Pottinger in his *Travels,* "that he one day observed Ahmed Shah saying his prayers on a carpet spread in front of his tent: he instantly loaded and pointed one of the cannons of the fort, and struck, with the ball, the spot on which the king had just before prostrated himself. The monarch, it is said, made immediate overtures for the negotiation, and afterwards complimented the Khan on this proof of his skill in gunnery." The protracted siege continued for forty days when the Shah became hopeless of storming it. Naseer Khan, on the other side, seems to have been tired of the independence that shut him up in his capital. At

this stage Shah Wali Khan sent a note to Naseer Khan saying, "If you come and pay your respects to the Shah, I, as Wazir, shall stand a security for you, as I have called you my own son. But if you do not come, it will be very difficult for me, the minister, to hold back the *Badshah* who is *Zill-i-Allah*, the shadow or representative of God." Naseer Khan availed himself of this opportunity for negotiations and sent Akhund Muhammad Hayat Khan as his envoy to the Afghan minister. The wazir presented him to the Shah, who enquired of the Akhund, "Why does not the Khan come in for the Salam?" "He wants an assurance (for life) and respectful reception," replied the Akhund. "By what means can he be assured, and what honour does he want?" said the Shah. "A pardon for the past conduct," Muhammad Hayat respectfully submitted. "Granted," the Shah was pleased to declare. "An assurance on the Quran", the Akhund further besought, "and the honour that prime minister should himself call at the Khan to conduct him to the presence of Your Majesty." The Shah accepted the proposals of Akhund Muhammad Hayat Khan, sealed a copy of the holy Quran with the assurance inscribed on it and sent Shah Wali with it to Naseer Khan. The Baluch chief accompanied the bearer of the Quran to the Shah, who was pleased to receive him with all the honour due to his position and old friendship. During the interview the talk turned to the complaints that a nephew of the Khan, Sultan Qaim Khan, and Adam Khan Wajuhani, a *Nam-bardar* (a leading man) of the latter, had carried to the Shah at Qandahar. The Shah handed over both of them to the Khan. Naseer Khan humbly submitted, "I have done nothing to deserve their complaints against me. In future even if I admonish them for their actual wrongful conduct and bring home to them their faults, they will, as a matter of habit, every time, carry all sorts of tales to you. I have no strength to stand the wrath of Your Majesty. Therefore, this slave would rather come into your service at Qandahar. And, Kalat may be bestowed on anybody Your Majesty chooses to honour. You are the master." The Shah had no intention either to annex the territories of Kalat or to replace Naseer Khan by anyone else of his own choice. He was

highly pleased with the humility of the Baluch and said, "The Almighty God has bestowed Kalat upon you."[5]

TREATY WITH NASEER KHAN

A treaty was then concluded between Ahmad Shah Durrani and Naseer Khan Brahui with the following terms:

1. Naseer Khan shall acknowledge Ahmad Shah Durrani as his suzerain.
2. Naseer Khan shall furnish a contingent of troops whenever the Afghan monarch waged war beyond the boundaries of his own kingdom of Afghanistan; in that case the Khan of Kalat shall receive from the Shah of Afghanistan a sum of money and munitions of war every time the former took the field.
3. The Shah of Afghanistan shall not compel the Khan of Kalat and his successors to furnish the Baluch contingent "for the sake of supporting this or that Suddozye chief, or their successors of that or any other tribe." Further, the Khan of Kalat shall not be obliged to take part in the internal quarrels that may arise amongst the Afghans themselves.
4. The Khan of Kalat shall not in future pay any tribute to the Shah of Afghanistan.

To make the treaty really effective and binding, Ahmad Shah married a cousin of Naseer Khan's. This settled, the Shah returned to Qandahar with his new wife and some of

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5 Akhund Muhammad Siddiq's book quoted by Hattu Ram in his *Tarikh-i-Baluchistan*, 193-94, Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, 84-5; Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*, 284-87; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 290-91; Pottinger *Travels*, 282-83, 294. Atar Khan and Ahmadyar Khan were released. The Sindh territories were, later on, so divided as to bring about peace between the brothers But it lasted only for a short time, and Mian Ghulam Shah ultimately became the master of the ancestral territories. *Mirat-i-Daulat-Abbasi*, 51-4 (110-112).

her relations. After this escapade, as Naseer Khan probably considered it, he was always loyal to His Majesty.[6]

Imam-ud-Din Husaini, in his *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi,* has at this stage recorded another rebellion. Mir Khush Durrani, a relative of the Shah, instigated by a *darvesh,* had declared himself the King of Afghanistan. His rebellion, however, could gather no momentum and was suppressed without much effort on the part of the Shah. The rebel was captured and his eyes put out, while his preceptor, the *darvesh,* was put to the sword.[7]

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6. Ferrier, *History of the Afghans,* 85; Pottinger, *Travels,* 282-83; Elphinstone, 291; Malleson, *History of Afghanistan,* 287.

7. *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi,* 36. No further details of this rebellion of Mir Khush Durrani are available. Who this Mir Khush was and how he was related to Ahmad Shah Durrani is also not traceable. He may not, however, be confused with Luqman Khan (son of the Shah's elder brother Zulfiqar Khan), who revolted in the year 1748, or with Abdul Khaliq Khan who raised the standard of rebellion while the Shah was conducting military operations in India in 1760 during his fifth invasion of that country.

CHAPTER XVII

MINOR EXPEDITIONS TO THE PANJAB

Before we enter upon the expeditions of Ahmad Shah Durrani into the Panjab after the flight of his son and viceroy, Taimur Shah, and his general, Jahan Khan, from that country, it is but necessary to acquaint the reader with the happenings there since their departure. The Marathas and the Sikhs had, as we know, occupied the Panjab, arriving at Lahore in April, 1758. They had not been able to pursue Taimur and Jahan Khan beyond the river Chanab, as it was then in high floods. But it could not permanently bar the path of those sturdy soldiers of Maharashtra, who had come about fifteen hundred miles from their homes and had crossed half a dozen other rivers. Within seven months of their first entry into the Panjab, we find a Maratha chief, Tukoji Holkar, in Peshawar beyond the Indus in November, 1758[1]

ADINA BEG APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF THE PANJAB

Raghunath Rao, the Peshwa's brother and the Commander of the expeditionary force, stayed at Lahore for less than a month. He soon realized that it was not possible for the Marathas to hold the Panjab with a Deccani garrison in

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1. *BIS Mandal Quarterly,* xxiv-i (93), July 1943, p. 6. *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 101, followed by *Jam-i-Jahan Numa,* 120, says that the *qarawalan-i-ghanim* (advance guard of the enemy) pursued the Afghans as far as the bank of the river Jhelum Evidently, this refers only to a few detached parties The main army, according to SPD xxvii. 218, dated 21st April, 1758, could not cross the Chanab as the river was in flood and was not fordable. Later on, however, Maratha detachments went as far as the bank of the Indus; some of them penetrating into the Peshawar territories under Tukoji Holkar, Narsoji Pandit and Sabaji Patil. Vide *Husain Shahi,* 35; *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 134; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* 25; *Chahar Gulshan,* 133; Ali-ud-Din, 255; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan,* 12; Bakht Mall, *Khalsa Namah,* 41; *Imad-us-Sa'adat,* 74; *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh,* 20; *BIS Mandal Quarterly,* xxiv-i (93), July 1943, 6 and 7 Cf. *Manazal-u-Fatuh,* 17.

face of the rising power of the Sikhs, who were then issuing out of their hill recesses and spreading over the country in all directions, with daily additions to their fold and ranks from amongst the Jat peasants who predominated in the rural population. The financial position of the central Maratha government at Poona, at this time, was also not strong enough to maintain their garrisons in the distant parts of the province. Moreover, the Deccanis, born and brought up in the mild climate of Poona and its neighbourhood, would find it difficult to stand the rigours of the burning heat and freezing cold of the Panjab. Raghunath Rao, therefore, acted wisely in making over this dangerous frontier land to Adina Beg Khan for an annual tribute of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. Adina Beg Khan, in turn, appointed Khwaja Mirza Jan Khan as his *naib*, or deputy governor, fixing his own headquarters in the Doaba Bist Jullundur as usual. Raghunath Rao left Lahore on the 2nd of Ramzan, 1171 A H., May 10, 1758, and marched towards Delhi, taking the *Somwari Amavasya* bath at Kurukshetra on Monday, the 5th of June [2]

PERSECUTION OF THE SIKHS

Adina Beg Khan lived to enjoy the governorship of the Panjab for only four months after the return of the Marathas. During this short tenure, he made desperate efforts to extirpate his erstwhile allies, the Sikhs, for fear of their becoming too strong for him. But forty years of continuous persecution had seasoned them for a nomadic life of hardship and Adina Beg failed in his efforts to crush them. They slipped away into the hills or jungles only to return with added fury to wreak their vengeance upon their persecutors after Adina Beg's death, which took place on or about the 15th of September, 1758.[3]

2. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 165a-b; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 101; *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, 465-66; *Tahmas Namah*, 84a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 547; Ali Ibrahim Khan, *Tarikh Bhau-o-Janko*, 19; *Saulat-i-Afghani*, 247; *Delhi Chronicle;* Sarkar, ii. 76; Kashiraj, 1-2.

3. Ahmad Shah Batalia, *Tarikh-i-Hind*, 981-82 (415-16); *Umdatu-Tawarikh*, i. 147, 149; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 256-57.

[Continued on p. 218

MARATHAS IN THE PANJAB

On receipt of the news of the death of Adina Beg Khan at Delhi, Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din proposed to send Sayyad Jamil-ud-Din Khan and Ubedullah Khan Kashmiri to Lahore. At this time, early in October, Antaji Manakeshwar and some other Maratha *sardars* with an army from Raghunath Rao and Malhar Rao Holkar (from the neighbourhood of Malwa) arrived in the vicinity of the capital and demanded that, as the Marathas had released the Panjab from the hold of the Afghans and as Adina Beg Khan was their nominee, they would appoint a man of their own choice to govern that place.[4] Antaji stayed in Delhi, while his companions Tukoji Holkar and Narsoji Pandit marched to Lahore.

While Khawaja Mirza Jan Khan was appointed at Lahore in April, 1758, Raghunath Rao had detailed Jankoji Shinde for duty towards the Indus and Ramji and Shamji to Multan. But Jankoji seems to have returned from that side soon afterwards. About the end of September or the beginning of October, 1758—after the death of Adina Beg Khan—some Afghans and Gakkhars from beyond the Jhelum plundered the *parganah* of Gujrat. Khwaja Mirza Jan Khan, who had made up with the Sikhs after the death of Adina, collected a large force of theirs and issued forth from Lahore. He went as far as the Jhelum and defeated the Gakkhars and Afghans and pushed them back. They, however, then collected a much larger force and returned to meet the Mirza

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SPD. ii. 96, gives the date of the death of Adina Beg as the 12th of Muharram, 1172 A H. (September 15, 1758) and the *Farhat-un-Nazirin* of Muhammad Aslam (Elliot, *History of India,* viii. 169) places it a day earlier. The *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan* mentions the 15th of Bhadon, 1815 Bikrami According to the solar reckoning, it corresponds to (about) the 25th of September. But if we follow the lunar reckoning and take it as the 15th (Sudi) of the bright half, it corresponds to the 16th or 17th of September, 1758 I have followed the contemporary Marathi letter, and the *Farhat-un-Nazirin.* The *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 190b-191a, gives this date as the 10th of Safar. Evidently, the writer has, by mistake, put down the then current month of Safar instead of Muharram. This would bring the date of Adina's death earlier by a day than that given by the *Farhat-un-Nazirin.*

4. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 190b-191a; *BIS Mandal Quarterly,* July 1943, 6.

and inflicted a defeat upon him. But as the news of the advance of the Marathas had at that time spread in the country, they shrank from crossing to the east of the Jhelum.[5]

On their arrival at Lahore, Tukoji Holkar and Narsoji Pandit pushed on to the north-west, evidently, to overawe the country on that side. They seem to have crossed the Indus and penetrated into the Peshawar territory, returning from there about the middle of November, 1758, at the call of Mirza Jan Khan and Mir Hasan Ali Khan.[6]

Towards the end of Rabi-ul-Akhir, 1172 A.H., December, 1758 A.D., when Raghunath Rao and Malhar Rao Holkar were returning to the Deccan from Delhi, Jankoji Shinde marched from Ajmer and Marwar, via Jaipur, and had an interview with the Peshwa's brother and arrived in the neighbourhood of the Mughal capital. Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din humoured the Marathas with dresses of honour and offered to pay them seven or eight lakhs of rupees if they marched to Lahore and maintained peace and order in that country. Jankoji arrived at the village of Barari, near Wazirabad, on the 5th of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1172, January 4, 1759. The negotiations between the Wazir and Jankoji continued for about a month, and an agreement was concluded between the parties on the 2nd of Jamadi-us-Sani, January 31. Jankoji marched northwards on the 1st of February and arrived at Machhiwara, on the southern bank of the Sutlej, in March. He seems to have sent Sabaji Patil in advance to Lahore, but, as he found that the Sikhs were then virtually in possession of Lahore and its neighbourhood, with huge forces at their disposal, and as its capture and occupation would not be an easy job, he decided not to cross the river. At Machhiwara, Jankoji received the members of Adina Beg's family (per-

5. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 191b, Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 255.

6. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, dated 20th of December, 1758, containing the summary of a letter of 22nd of November, 1758 (*BI Mandal Quarterly*, xxiv-i, No. 93, July 1943, 6-7). It appears fro Raja Kesho Rao's letter to the Peshwa written on the 1st of Muharra 1172 A H., Bhadrapada Shudh 3, 1680 Shaka (1815 Bikrami), Septemb 5, 1758, from Jhansi (*SPD.* xxi. 163, 178-9), that the Marathas had go as far as the Attock in August, 1758. The names of the expeditionis are not mentioned in the letter.

haps his widow and son) and other residents of Doaba Bist Jullundur who paid him some money. Before his departure from Delhi, the Maratha chief called back Sabaji Patil, who appears to have pushed on to the Peshawar territory, and entrusted the affairs of Lahore to Naro Shankar. Sabaji returned from Peshawar to Lahore by the middle of April, 1759, and joined Tukoji Holkar, Khandoji Kadam and other *silahdars* (cavalry officers) who were then stationed there. On second thought, however, Sabaji was allowed to continue in the Panjab, where he was assisted by three Pandits, Bapu Rao, Dadu Rao and Sena.[7]

Khwaja Mirza Jan Khan and his brother Khwaja Saeed Khan were, at this time, very unpopular in the country. While Khwaja Mirza Khan, as Mirza Jan Khan was popularly called, generally went out on military expeditions or for the settlement of the outlying districts, his brother and deputy, Khwaja Saeed Khan, attended to the administration at the headquarters. Saeed proved to be a great tyrant. He would daily hang one or two men with a view to overawing the population into silent submission. He would, not unoften, indulge in extortions from the people and subject them to untold indignities. The worst enemies of the

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7. *SPD.* ii. 100, xxi. 171.

Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mulla, 15th April, 1759 (*BIS Mandal Quarterly*, xxiv-i, No. 93, July 1943, 7); *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 192a-198b, 205b; *Ibrat Namah*, 255-56; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 146-47.

The names of the three Pandits are not given in full with their surnames to enable us to identify them. Similarly Khandoji and Narsoji Pandit are also unidentified. The *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 193a, mentions the names of three Pandits, Naroji Shankar, Gopal Pandit and Parshotam Pandit, in connection with the negotiations of Jankoji Shinde with Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din in January, 1759. Narsoji Pandit could have been identified with Naroshankar or Parshotam, if he were in Delhi in January, 1759, which is not improbable.

According to the *Panth Prakash* of Gian Singh, Sahib Rao was sent to Attock, Babu Rao to Rohtas and Jhelum, and Ramji and Shamji to Multan, while Madho Rao was kept in Lahore and Narain Rao in Sirhind (see p 733); and *Shamsher Khalsa*, 128 (491). Babu Rao of the *Panth Prakash* may be Bapu Rao, and Dadu Rao of the *Ibrat Namah* and the *Umda-tu-Tawarikh* may be Madho Rao of the *Panth Prakash*.

Khwaja brothers, however, were the Qizzılbash Afghan captains of Prince Taımur's army, who had been captured on the bank of the Chanab and enlisted in hıs service by Mırza Jan Khan. They conspıred wıth the Maratha Pandıts and, wıth payments and promıses of money, secured for themselves the high offices of state; the *subahdarı* of Lahore for Mırza Ahmad Khan, and of Multan for Saleh Khan. Mırza Jan Khan was thrown into prıson, whıle Khwaja Saeed, mounted on a donkey, was paraded through the streets of Lahore where the aggrıeved cıtızens flung dust and dırt upon hıs head. Saeed was then produced before Sabaji Patil for punishment. "You deserve some severe punıshment for all your horrıble misdeeds," said Sabaji, "but I would gıve you only thıs punishment that you leave thıs country. Beyond that I say nothıng to you."[8]

EXPANSION OF SIKH POWER

In this unsettled condition of the country, the Sikhs found a favourable opportunity to extend theır conquests and expand their power. The masterless Doaba Bist Jullundur was occupied by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalıa, whıle most of the places in the Bari and Rechna Doabs passed into the possession of Sardar Charhat Sıngh Sukkarchakkia.[9]

NUR-UD-DIN'S EXPEDITIONS TO THE PANJAB

Let us now turn to the Afghan expeditions to the Panjab While Ahmad Shah was engaged in the sıege of Kalat against Mır Naseer Khan, he had despatched a force to the Panjab under the command of Nur-ud-Din Khan Bamezei. He crossed the Indus unopposed and entered the Sind Sagar Doab towards the end of September, 1758. Although the Marathas had overrun this territory, they had left no per-

8 *Tahmas Namah,* 90b-91a; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 256; Sohan Lal, *Umda-tu-Tawarıkh,* ı. 146-47. Accordıng to the *Umda-tu-Tawarıkh,* ı. 146, Tahir Beg was appointed the governor of Lahore after the removal of Khwaja Mırza Jan Khan and his brother and deputy, Khwaja Saeed Khan.

9. Sohan Lal, *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* i. 147.

manent garrison of any appreciable strength to hold back the Durranis. Moreover, this tract was then held by the Khattaks, the Gakkhars and Muhammadan Jats, and other tribes who were favourably inclined towards the Afghans. They rallied round the standard of the Bamezei in the hope of loot. Nur-ud-Din crossed the Jhelum at Khushab into the Chaj Doab and moved up the eastern bank of the river to the rich town of Bhera. As the inhabitants would not willingly pay the large ransom demanded of them, he ordered them to be plundered and their town laid waste with fire and sword. He then moved to Miani and Chak Sanu and subjected them to similar treatment. Leaving behind him the smoking ruins of these devastated towns, Nur-ud-Din marched to Gujrat, plundered the *parganah,* and crossed the Chanab into the Rechna Doab.[10]

Here his progress was stopped by Khwaja Mirza Jan Khan with the help of the Sikhs. He had reconciled himself to them after the death of Adina Beg Khan and enlisted their support against the Afghans, who had offended them by the desecration of their Gurdwaras and the devastation of their towns of Kartarpur and Amritsar. The

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10. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 191b; Elphinstone, *Caubul,* 291; Ouseley and Davies, *Shahpur District Revised Settlement Report* (1866), 36; Wilson, *Shahpur District Gazetteer,* 32-3. The *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani* has mistaken the river Jhelum for Chanab and says that the Afghans and Gakkhars, having plundered the *parganah* of Gujrat, came, from the west, to Jhelum. But Gujrat is on the bank of the river Chanab, to the east of the Jhelum, and not to its west.

"The proceedings of this man (Nur-ud-Din Khan)," says the *Shahpur Settlement Report,* p. 36, "may be taken as a type of the excesses committed by the invading armies, and some idea will be formed of the amount of misery caused by these inroads....Two of these (devastated towns), Bhera and Miani, rose again on their ruins, without, however, completely recovering the shock they had sustained, but of third, Chak Sanoo, the foundations alone are to be seen." See also p. 33.

The state of the country, when overrun by the Afghan hordes of Ahmad Shah Durrani, is illustrated by the saying, still current—*Khahda pita Lahe da, rehnda Ahmad Shahe da*—what we eat and drink is ours, the remaining is of Ahmad Shah—*Gujrat District Gazetteer* (1883-84), 15-16.

Khwaja and his Sikh allies marched up to Chanab, defeated Nur-ud-Din and pushed him back.[11]

The Khwaja then crossed the river and entrenched his position. But the discomfited Nur-ud-Din soon returned with a much larger number of the Gakkhars and Afghans to retrieve his lost position and succeeded in defeating the Lahore governor. He could not, however, follow up his victory and pursue the Khawaja to his headquarters, apparently, for two reasons. Firstly, he had not received the orders of the Shah and his rear was not covered either by the Shah himself or by any of his generals. And, secondly, the news of the advance of fresh Maratha force, under Tukoji Holkar and Narsoji Pandit, had spread in the country, and Nur-ud-Din did not find himself strong enough to meet the combined forces of the Khwaja, the Deccanis and the Sikhs.[12]

It was either at this time in October-November, 1758, when Tukoji Holkar and Narsoji Pandit marched to the Indus, or in March-April, 1759, when Sabaji Patil crossed the Jhelum and made for Attock (or on their way back to Lahore), that, under instructions of Ahmad Shah, Khushal Khan Khattak of Teri marched at the head of the local levies to oppose the Marathas. A battle was fought at Hasan Abdal (Panja Sahib), Khushal Khan was killed and his men were defeated.[13]

FAILURE OF JAHAN KHAN'S FORCE

Towards the end of August, 1759, the Shah despatched a force under Sardar Jahan Khan to the Panjab. Sabaji Patil moved out to oppose his advance. A sanguinary battle was fought in which the Afghans were worsted and many of

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11. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 191b.

12. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 191b; *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla,* dated 22nd of December, 1758, containing the summary of a letter dated the 20th of November, 1758 (*BIS Mandal Quarterly,* XXIV-1, No. 93, July 1943); Elphinstone, *Caubul,* 291. Malleson in his *History of Afghanistan,* 287, tells us, "Nurudin did not think it prudent to proceed further with his small force, but remained halted at Vazirabad, waiting for the orders of his sovereign."

13. Muhammad Hayat Khan, *Hayat-i-Afghani,* 324,

them, including the son of Jahan Khan, fell dead. Jahan Khan himself was wounded and was forced to recross the Indus and retire into the Peshawar territory.[14]

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14. *Delhi Chronicle,* entry of September 19, 1759. Sabaji Patil must have moved out of the fort of Attock, where he was stationed. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 255 (118a); *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 101.

There is no mention of this battle in the *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani* (the p. 367 quoted by Hari Ram Gupta in his *History of the Sikhs,* 128, footnote 3, being incorrect).

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* ii. 79, says, "Raj. vi. 378, credits the Sikhs with achieving the victory". The letter No. 378 of Rajwade's vol. vi. p. 445, is dated Magh, 1679 Shaka, corresponding to Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 1171 A H , February 9 to March 9, 1758. It can only be reconciled with the event in the end of August, 1759, on the presumption that the original letter was undated and that a wrong date came to be given to it by the editor.

But the text refers not to any regular force commanded by Jahan Khan, but to some disaffected parties of the Afghans who had left Jahan Khan on account of non-payment of their wages for two to four months, and had also defeated Shah Wali Khan who had gone to bring them back by persuasion or otherwise.

Chapter XVIII

THE FIFTH INVASION OF INDIA

STRUGGLE WITH THE MARATHAS

(1759-1761)

SHAH INVITED TO INDIA

In October, 1759, Ahmad Shah made up his mind to invade India for the fifth time to re-establish his prestige and dominions in the Panjab, lost by the flight of Taimur and Jahan Khan, and to punish the Marathas. He had for some time been receiving petitions from Najib-ud-Daulah Ruhila, his representative in India. He had been driven away from Delhi by the Marathas, and was, then, being harassed by them at Sukkartal. Najib-ud-Daulah appealed to the Shah in the name of Islam and besought his help against the Brahmanical idolators while the Hindu Rajahs, Madho Singh of Jaipur and Bijay Singh of Marwar, invited him for the protection of their territories from the inroads of the Deccanis. Emperor Alamgir had also written secret letters to the Shah entreating His Afghan Majesty to rescue him from the galling yoke of his cruel minister, Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din.[1]

SHAH ENTERED THE PANJAB

Despatching Sardar Jahan Khan in advance, the Shah descended upon India through the Bolan Pass in the end of Safar, 1173 A.H. While passing through the Bannu district, he was joined by two prominent Pathan chiefs of this terri-

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1. *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 19b; *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 101; Rajwade, i. 138; *SPD* ii. 84, 106; xxi, 176; *Husain Shahi,* 38, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 589; Dow, *History of Hindustan,* ii. 392.

Beharilal in his *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah* tells us that the Marathas had demanded Hardwar and Jwalapur, the places of Hindu pilgrimage, from Najib-ud-Daulah and he refused to transfer these places to them. This was one of the causes of enmity between them. *Vide* p. 6.

tory. One was Begu, the founder of the Begukhel section of the Achukhel branch of the Marwat tribe. He brought in a contingent of 120 Marwat horsemen. The second was Khan Zaman Zakakhel, whom the Shah had helped in being raised to the chiefship against his stronger rivals and oppressors of the Badanzei and Mamukhel tribes. The Shah crossed the Indus on the 3rd of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1173, October 25, 1759, and entered the Panjab.[2]

THE MARATHAS OFFERED NO RESISTANCE

In the meantime, Jahan Khan had pushed Sabaji out of Attock, which the latter vacated without striking a blow. Jahan Khan's force was too large for a small garrison of the Marathas. The Afghan general, however, overtook him at Rohtas. There he was forced to fight, but he took to his heels and fled away towards Delhi without stopping at Lahore, Batala, Jullundur or Sirhind. Another calamity befell the Marathas on the bank of the Sutlej, where they were pounced upon by villagers of the Doaba Bist Jullundur. Some of the Marathas had crossed over to the southern bank, while the others were still on the north side when they were taken by surprise. Four thousand camels, worth forty rupees each, and gold *mohars* and rupees, and about a thousand horses were carried away. Many of them were killed. This reduced the Marathas to an unhappy plight. In addition to this, a general and several soldiers of the Marathas, who had lagged behind, were overtaken near Lahore and cut off by the Afghan vanguard. One corps of six thousand Maratha horse and foot posted in Multan, however, retreated to the east of Lahore without any loss.[3]

BATTLE WITH THE SIKHS

The Sikhs, however, gave a better account of themselves. On the arrival of the Shah in the neighbourhood of Lahore with an army of forty thousand, a great battle was fought

2 Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*, 287; *Bannu District Gazetteer*, 124-6; *Waqa-i-Shah Alam*, 135 (Qunungo, *History of the Jats*, 111, footnote).

3. Rajwade, i. 139, 141-43, 146; *Shamsher Khalsa*, 130 (492); Sarkar, ii 80. Govind Ballal in his letter (Rajwade, i. 146, p. 232) does not tell us who these *gawars* (rustics, villagers), who attacked the Marathas on the bank of the Sutlej, were.

with them. The Shah lost as many as two thousand men, and Sardar Jahan Khan was wounded.[4]

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE PANJAB

As the Panjab was then left masterless, Jahan Khan had spread his men in all directions and had sent three or four of his men in advance from Wazirabad to Diwan Surat Singh at Lahore, with instructions to have the *khutba* read and coins struck in Lahore in the name of Taimur Shah, son of Ahmad Shah Durrani, and to proclaim it with the beat of drum that no one should molest the citizens. On the arrival of the Shah at Lahore, Haji Karimdad Khan, a nephew of Wazir Shah Wali Khan and an *arzbegi* to Taimur Shah, was appointed governor of Lahore, with Zain Khan as the faujdar of the four districts (*chahār mahāl*) of Gujrat, Aurangabad, Pasrur and Eminabad. Amir Khan was appointed a deputy to Karimdad Khan.[5]

"This time", as Najib-ud-Daulah wrote to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh on December 10, 1759, "His Majesty has turned his attention to this side with the only object of settling the affairs of India, capturing the territories of the Deccan and chastising and exterminating the wicked infidels with the co-operation and advice of the chiefs and nobles here. Orders have been issued to the Sardars and servants accompanying His Majesty to bring their families and children to the capital of Lahore so as to populate its confines".[6] The settlement of Afghans in Lahore was considered desirable, evidently, to safeguard the capital from the inroads of the Sikhs, who, it was feared, might at any time rush in, cut off the Shah's base depot in the Panjab and render him helpless in the south.

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4. Rajwade, i. 146.

5. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 211a, b; *Ibrat Namah* (Ali-ud-Din), 259; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 147; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, 82.

Mir Ghulam Ali Azad (*Khazanah-i-Amira*, 101), followed by Qudratullah in his *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, ii. 120-21, and Muhammad Ali Ansari in *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 589, tells us that the Shah marched from Lahore to Jammu, received a tribute from its Raja (Ranjit Dev) and then resumed his march to Delhi.

6. *Murasalat-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, No. 19, 19th Rabi-us-Sani, 1173.

EMPEROR ALAMGIR MURDERED BY GHAZI-UD-DIN

Having sent Jahan Khan in advance towards Sirhind with about fifteen thousand men, the Shah followed him at a slow pace with an army of forty thousand strong, and crossed the river Beas at Goindwal on the 29th of Rabi-ul-Awwal 1173 A.H., November 20, 1759. On the 19th of Rabi-us-Sani, December 10, the Shah was encamped at Khizarabad, in the parganah of Ropar, from where he moved on to Sirhind. The news of the Shah's march from Lahore towards Delhi frightened *Imad-ul-Mulk* Ghazi-ud-Din, the prime minister at Delhi, into madness, and, in a fit of fury against Emperor Alamgir *Sani,* who had invited the Shah to India with complaints against him, he got him murdered on the 8th of Rabi-us-Sani, 1173 A.H., November 29, 1759. Khan-i-Khanan Intizam-ud-Daulah, his old rival of 1757, was also strangled to death the next day (November 30). These murders infuriated Ahmad Shah against Ghazi-ud-Din.[7]

MARATHAS WORSTED AT TARAORI

Dattaji, who had been harassing Najib-ud-Daulah for some time, raised the siege of Sukkartal and prepared himself to meet the Shah. However reluctant Dattaji was to release the Ruhila to join the invader, he had no alternative. The Shah was moving towards the south and he would certainly march to Sukkartal to relieve Najib before going to Delhi. At the same time, Shuja-ud-Daulah had agreed to join hands with Najib. Dattaji, therefore, decided to move out to meet the Durrani and bar his path to Delhi. He crossed the river Jamuna at Ramra-Ghat near Panipat on the 20th of December, 1759, and having sent away the unnecessary equipage and families with Gobind Ballal and Jankoji, Dattaji marched from Kunjpura in the direction of the

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7. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* 214a-b; *Muraslat-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani,* letter No. 1.

According to *SPD.* XXVII. 245, the Shah entered Sirhind on the 6th of Rabi-ul-Akhir, November 27. Evidently this date referred to the entry of the Shah in the territory of Sirhind in which the *mahal* of Khizarabad was situated, and not to the entry of the Shah into the town of Sirhind.

advance guard of the Shah under the command of Sardar Jahan Khan. The advance guard of the Marathas under Bhoite came into contact with the Afghans on the 24th of December, 1759, Paush Sudı 5, 1681 Shaka (1816 Bk.), near the historic plain of Taraori, close to Thanesar. Dattaji does not seem to have taken this first battle with the Durranis very seriously. Instead of leading his army and conducting the operations himself, he only wished, as a Marathi letter (SPD. ii. 109, p. 122) tells us, to watch the tactics of the Afghans, as if Taraori were a demonstration laboratory of war. And this proved disastrous.[8]

The battle opened with hopeful prospects for the Marathas. The most advanced Afghan skirmishers were outnumbered and thrust back by five thousand Maratha troops and the Turkish auxiliaries of Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din. But the tables were soon turned upon them. As soon as the Shah heard of the first engagement, he ordered General Shah Pasand Khan to go with four thousand *sawars* When the Wazir's Mughalia troops, who were not new to the Durrani warfare, saw Shah Pasand Khan advance against them, they drew to one side. The Afghan general rushed upon them and poured musket-fire into their ranks. At the same time the Shah sent another detachment against them. Thus surrounded from three sides, the front and the flanks, by larger and superior numbers, and unsupported from the rear, the Marathas were overpowered and outgeneralled by Ahmad Shah. Bhoite was driven back with a loss of four hundred lives. Dattaji then pushed forward to the field of battle. But it was too late. The day was coming to a close, and the screen of darkness was soon spread between the two armies to remove the possibility of the battle being renewed.[9]

SHAH ENTERED JAMUNA-GANGETIC DOAB

Victory attended the arms of Ahmad Shah in his first contest with the Marathas. He would run no unnecessary risks. He availed himself of the darkness of night and, while

8. *SPD.* ii. 109, 117; Rajwade, i. 157; *Husain Shahi*, 38; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 26a-27b.

9. *Manazil-u-Futuh*, 14-15; *SPD.* ii. 109, 112, 114; xxi, 178; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 28a-29a.

Dattaji returned to his camp to prepare himself for the next morning's battle, he crossed the river Jamuna at a ferry near Buriya and entered the *Antarved,* or the Jamuna-Gangetic Doab. Najib-ud-Daulah came to the presence of the Shah, paid homage to him near Saharanpur and guided him down the eastern bank of the Jamuna towards Delhi. Within a few days other Ruhila Afghan Sardars of India, like Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Donde Khan, Sa'dullah Khan, Faizullah Khan, Fateh Khan *Khan-i-Saman* and *Mulla* Sardar Khan *Bakhshi* also joined the Shah. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Delhi on the other side of the river Jamuna, the Shah fixed his camp at Luni, six miles to the north-east, to watch the turn of events.[10]

THE BATTLE OF BARARI GHAT

After his defeat at Taraori, Dattaji had also moved towards Delhi. Leaving Kunjpura on the 27th of December, he came to Karnal and Panipat and arrived at Sonepat on the 29th of December. Dattaji could see that, with the Shah encamped within two hours' march from the capital, a second battle could not be delayed for long. He, therefore, pushed down to Barari on the 4th of January, 1760. On the third day, he paid a visit to Delhi and despatched the families — his own and those of other officers — to Rewari and returned to his camp disencumbered, ready to take the field against the Shah. The eastern bank of the Jamuna being completely in the hands of the Shah and his allies, no information regarding his activities could filter down to the western bank occupied by the Marathas. Early in the morning of the 9th of January, 1760, Jamadi-ul-Awwal 20, 1173 A H, Paush Vadi 8, 1816 Bk., Najib Khan and his Ruhilas began crossing the river and appeared on a small island formed by the parting channels of the river. Najib Khan's rear was covered by the Durranis. On their being sighted, Sabaji, who was holding the Barari *ghat,* moved out to oppose them. But he was soon overpowered by superior numbers and deadlier weapons. He had no artillery, and his men,

10. SPD. xxvii. 247; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 29a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 590; Sarkar, ii. 219-20; *Imad-us-Sa'adat,* 75; Beharilal, 8.

with spears and swords, could not hold out for long against the fire of Afghan musketry and were pushed back to the Barari side of the channel with a heavy loss of life. In the meantime, information of the raging battle had been conveyed to Dattaji. The Maratha commander rushed to the battlefield with reinforcements to retrieve the losing position. He dashed at the advancing Ruhilas who were thrown back to the other side of the channel. But the fates willed it otherwise, and the victory was reserved for the Afghans. At this time the Shah ordered his artillerymen and *sawars* to move up to the support of the Ruhila infantry. The Afghan swivels threw deadly fire into the ranks of the Maratha spearmen. Darting his spear at the Afghans, as Dattaji was pushing forward, a bullet struck him in the eye and he fell dead from his horse. When Najib-ud-Daulah, at this stage, saw that Maratha horsemen had got into the ranks of the Ruhila and Afghan infantry, he charged them with fresh troops. The dejected Marathas took to their heels and fled for their lives. Jankoji then moved up with his reserves and tried to renew the fight, but he could not achieve much. He was wounded in the arm and was dragged away by his flying followers. All was over with the removal of Jankoji from the field of action and the Marathas fled helter-skelter in all directions, pursued by the Afghan victors for about forty miles. Dattaji's head was cut off by Mian Qutab Shah and carried to Najib-ud-Daulah, who sent it on to the Shah. In addition to Dattaji, several Maratha *sardars* were also killed or wounded in this battle.[11]

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN DELHI

The Shah halted for a few days at Luni. During this period some of the Afghans entered the city of Delhi and subjected a few of its *muhallas* to plunder. The capital of the Mughal empire was masterless to all intents and purposes. It is true that after the murder of Emperor Alamgir II on

11. Rajwade, i. 153, 156, 165; iii. 516; SPD. ii. 114; xxi. 181, 182, 185; xxvii, 247; *Husain Shahi*, 39-40; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 30a-31a; *Tahmas Namah*, 95 (1)a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari;* 590; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 148; *Tazkirah-i-Shakir Khan*, 80-81. For a list of the Marathas killed in the battle of Barari *ghat*, see Rajwade, ii. 154.

the 8th of Rabi-us-Sani, 1173 A.H., November 29, 1759, Ghazi-ud-Din raised to the throne Muhy-ul-Millat, son of Muhy-us-Sunnat and grandson of Kam Bakhsh (the youngest son of Aurangzeb), on November 30, with the title of Shah Jahan *Sani*. "But," in the words of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "the new 'king of kings' was even more of a shadow than his luckless predecessor." And, his *wazir* Ghazi-ud-Din had left Delhi before the battle of Barari *ghat* and fled to Suraj Mall Jat's fort of Kumhir. The Jat had sent five thousand of his men for the protection of the imperial city on receipt of the news of the march of Ahmad Shah from Lahore towards Delhi, but they had returned to their master immediately after the flight of the Marathas. It was rumoured at this time that Ahmad Shah had placed his own son on the throne of Delhi. But it had never been the intention of the Afghan king to take possession of the throne of India either for himself or for his son. The Shah allowed the new emperor to continue in the fort of Delhi and appointed Yaqub Ali Khan, a relation of Wazir Shah Wali Khan, residing for a long time in India, the governor of Delhi.[12]

A letter was in these days received from Emperor Shah Alam II in Behar. He appealed to His Afghan Majesty to grant him the crown and throne of India. Otherwise, he said, "Imad-ul-Mulk and the Jat would nominally raise someone to kingship and render the kingdom a hundred times more desolate than before, and the Deccanis would multiply their power a thousand times and make the life of the people miserable in the country." He also requested the Shah to move to Akbarabad (Agra) and send Khan-i-Khanan (about whose assassination the Emperor had evidently not heard so far) and Najib-ud-Daulah to him. Then, he represented, the Indian nobles would come to his presence, Malwa and Gujrat would return to him and the Marathas would either submit to him or perish. About the Jat of Bharatpur, he contemptuously remarked, "People represent the Jat to Your Majesty as the key to India! Since when did this fellow become a man (of such power) that he be termed a 'key'?

12. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 214a-215a; *Tahmas Namah*, 95, (1)b, 96a; SPD. 114a; Rajwade, i. 165.

All this is a fabrication of (*paiwand basta-i-*) Nagar Mall. With [the empire] falling on evil days, these people misappropriated the revenues of territories reserved for the maintenance of the *badshah* and despoiled the treasury. [In this way] he entered the rank of chiefs! 'A cat is a leopard in catching rats, but it's only a rat in fighting with a leopard.' As soon as we turn our attention to the administration of the country and appear on the scene, he will pay large sums of money, leave the occupied territory worth lacs of revenue and enter our service. If not, he will meet his deserts."[13]

THE SIEGE OF DIG

Having settled the affairs of Delhi, Ahmad Shah prepared himself to march against Suraj Mall Jat of Bharatpur. Without entering the city of Delhi, the Shah marched to the south of it and fixed his camp at Khizarabad at a distance of about five miles. From here he despatched messengers to Suraj Mall, and to the Rajput Rajas, Madho Singh of Jaipur and Bijay Singh of Marwar, who had invited him to India, to pay him tribute and to present themselves at his court. On the 16th of January, Najib Khan, Abdul Ahad Khan and, on the 17th, Sadullah Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and other Ruhila Sardars made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya. On the afternoon of the 21st, the Shah himself went to the holy mausoleum and paid homage to the great saint.[14]

Receiving no satisfactory reply from the stiffnecked Jat, who had this time made a common cause with the Marathas against the Shah and had sent five thousand of his men for the protection of the city of Delhi while the Marathas march-

13. *Murasalat-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani,* No. 21, Emperor Shah Alam II to Ahmad Shah Durrani.

14. *Delhi Chronicle,* respective entries; *Husain Shahi,* 40-1; SPD. ii. 186-87. According to the *Husain Shahi,* 40, the Shah entered the capital on the same day, January 9-10, 1760, and, for three days, the Afghans plundered it. This view is supported by the *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah* also (p. 31b). According to the *Tahmas Namah,* the Shah had his camp at Haran Munara for some time and it was there that Mughlani Begam, who had come to the Shah's camp earlier, rejoined it after a visit to the city. (f. 95b.)

ed to the north to meet the Afghans, the Shah left Khizarabad on the 27th of January, 1760, and marched into the Jat territory via Shergarh and arrived at Dig on the 6th of February. The fort was invested on the following morning But the Shah was not very keen on reducing this place. Perhaps, he only wanted to keep the Jat confined to his fort to guard against his combining with the Marathas, while the Afghan general, Jahan Khan, was sent to chastise them.[15]

HIDE-AND-SEEK OF THE MARATHAS

The Marathas now started the game of hide-and-seek with the Shah. While he was encamped in front of Dig, a detachment of the Marathas advanced from the direction of Rewari. The Shah sent a strong detachment of the Afghans against them. The Marathas were defeated by a night-attack on the 11th of February. It was reported to the Shah that Malhar Rao Holkar, who had joined Jankoji Shinde at Kot Putli after the latter's flight from Barari *ghat,* was then at Narnaul, about thirty-five miles to the south-west of Rewari. The Shah raised the siege of Dig and marched out to meet and defeat him before he was reinforced by more troops from the Deccan. The Maratha chief quietly disappeared in the northern desert to reappear at Bahadurgarh on the 22nd of February. The Shah had moved to Rewari (February 18). From there he marched towards Delhi, evidently, to intercept Holkar before he could take it. On the 22nd, Malhar was reported to be near Kalka Devi (close to Qutb Minar). He must have received the intelligence of the Shah's march towards him He, therefore, crossed the river Jamuna on the 26-27th of February into the Gangetic Doab. The Shah continued his march towards Delhi and, passing through Dhankot, arrived at Khizarabad on the 29th [16]

MARATHAS SURPRISED AND WORSTED AT SIKANDRABAD

At this time a treasure of ten lakhs of rupees was on its way from the territories of Najib-ud-Daulah on the east of the Ganges to the Shah's camp. Malhar Rao Holkar had, in the meantime, reached Sikandrabad (February 28) and

15. *Delhi Chronicle;* Sarkar, ii. 227; Qanungo, *Jats,* i. 117.
16. *Delhi Chronicle,* Sarkar, ii. 227-28; Qanungo, *Jats,* i. 117-18.

sacked it, and had sent scouts to search for a ford near Anupshahr to cross the Ganges. It was feared lest this treasure should fall into the hands of the Marathas. The Shah ordered Shah Pasand Khan, Qalandar Khan and Jahan Khan to hasten to Sikandrabad with a force of fifteen thousand, fling a surprise upon the Marathas and drive them away before they had crossed to the east of the Ganges and succeeded in devastating the territories of the Ruhila allies of the Shah. True to their instructions, the Afghan commanders crossed the Jamuna and fell upon the advanced position of Malhar Rao held by Gangadhar Yashwant Tatya at a distance of about eight miles from the main camp. The Maratha detachment could not stand against the Afghans and Ruhilas and, after a short and feeble resistance of three to four hours, dispersed in all directions, many of them falling under the swords of the victors. Among those killed on the field were three high Maratha officers, Anand Ram, Shetaji Kharade and his son, Faqirji Kharade, in addition to a large number of soldiers slain in their flight. Their rout was so precipitate that many of them rode off on unsaddled horses. This bolt from the blue unnerved the Maratha commander, Sardar Malhar Rao Holkar. Instead of coming to the succour of his subordinate officer, he himself fled away for his life at a breakneck speed towards Agra, covering about eighty miles (forty *kroh*) in a day and a night. Gangadhar Tatya retired to Mathura.[17]

This disaster befell the Marathas on the 4th of March, 1760, and had a very depressing effect upon them. Writing from Jhansi on the 25th of Rajjab, 1173 A.H., March 13-14, 1760, to the Peshwa Balaji Rao, Raja Keshav Rao sounded a note of despair. "In short, the Abdali [Ahmad Shah Durrani] and Ruhilas have all joined together," wrote Keshav Rao "They have a large army and enormous quantities of artillery ammunition. It is not possible to fight with

17. SPD. ii. 120, 121; xxi. 187, 188; *Tahmas Namah*, 97a; *Delhi Chronicle; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 591-92; *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, 123; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 910; *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh*, 22; Sarkar, ii. 228-9.

SPD. ii. 121, gives the number of the Afghan army as 30-35 thousand, while according to the *Tahmas Namah*, 97a, they were only fifteen thousand.

them properly. We cannot lay our hands on them. Using dilatory tactics, we are eagerly looking in the direction of the Deccan for reinforcements. If any such help is coming, all will unite and defeat the enemy. Najib Khan Ruhila and all other tribes of the Ruhilas from the districts of Muradabad and Bareilly have become one and joined the Abdali. It is said that more army is coming to the Durrani from Kabul. If any one from your family is coming up, kindly send some European guns and ammunition along with him. The Jat, Madho Singh and Shuja-ud-Daulah are all afraid of the enemy. [A warrior like] Dattaji Shinde was reduced to such a plight [as to be killed by the Afghans]. Hence the Abdali and the Ruhilas are very proud. Secondly, our army also cannot hold its own against them. Malhar Rao is trying to harass them by his tricks. But the Abdalis and the Ruhilas are not like [Indian] Mughals. They are ferocious warriors, strong in attacking as well as in fighting. The empire of the Mughals in Delhi has been rendered powerless [by them]; practically, the Mughal rule has come to an end." "The light foray plan of campaign even under Malhar Holkar, the ablest cavalry leader among the Marathas, had entirely failed against Abdali," says Sir Jadunath Sarkar. "Returning to Bharatpur, Holkar called for Hafiz [Rahmat Khan]'s envoy and resumed the discussion of the peace terms proposed by that chief."[18]

SHAH OCCUPIED ALIGARH FORT

While Jahan Khan pursued Gangadhar to Mathura, the Shah moved to Kol (Aligarh) and arrived there on the 5th of March, 1760. Aligarh was then in the possession of Suraj Mal Jat. Its fort was originally built by Sabit Khan and was called Sabitgarh. With the rise of the Jats under Suraj Mall, it fell into their hands, was given the Hindu name of Ramgarh and was held by a Jat garrison under Durjan Sal when the Shah invested it. It was well fortified and provisioned. But the Shah soon succeeded in cutting it off from Dig and Bharatpur on the west of the Jamuna. No hope of any succour was left for the defenders. Dig was at a distance

18. SPD. xxi. 188.

of fifty miles and Bharatpur at sixty. Then there was the river Jamuna, which separated it from the headquarters of their master. The intervening territory was all covered by the roving parties of the Afghans. Thus blockaded, Durjan Sal capitulated and handed over the Ramgarh fort to the Shah.[19]

Here Najib-ud-Daulah suggested that as the power of Jankoji Shinde and Malhar Rao Holkar had practically been broken and they had returned towards their territories in disgrace, and as they would not be able to face the Shah before the arrival of fresh armies from the Deccan, he might spend the summer and rainy months in Kol. As long as the Marathas were at large and were not completely eradicated, said Najib, it would be difficult for men like him to live in the country. As for the expenses of the army, he promised to take the fullest responsibility. And, as an army of the Marathas was then reported to be moving up from the Deccan under the command of Sadashiv Bhau, brother of the Peshwa, it was pleaded that the Shah should not leave his allies at the mercy of their enemies. This conceded, it was decided to fix the camp at Aligarh. The Shah was then pleased to grant to Najib all the territories which belonged to the fugitive Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din to cover the expenses of the Afghan forces stationed in the country.[20]

AHMAD KHAN BANGASH INVITED TO SHAH'S PRESENCE

At the suggestion of Shah Wali Khan early in Sha'ban, 1173 A.H., the Shah wrote a letter to Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash and invited him to his presence. "Our prime minister tells us," wrote the Shah, "that Ahmad Khan Bangash is a sincere friend, a respectable gentleman and a useful man, and that he is capable of many accomplishments. It is, therefore, that we have adorned this document with our signature. May that chief of elevated dignity he assured that his sincerity is well known to us. This kingdom of ours

19. *Tahmas Namah,* 97a, b; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 32a, b; *Delhi Chronicle; Imad-us-Sa'adat,* 76; *Husain Shahi,* 41.

20. *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 31b-32; *Delhi Chronicle;* SPD. ii. 121; *Tahmas Namah,* 97 a; *Manazil-u-Futuh,* 15.

is God-given and is a matter of pride for the Afghan community. And the Bangash Afghans are from amongst our chiefs, and we consider them as the most favoured of our group. With these assurances from us, he should immediately come to our presence. God willing, the affairs of that chief of elevated dignity, whose glory has our blessing, will have preference over other Afghans."

Shah Wali Khan, at the same time, sent to him under his own seal and signature the following letter of agreement and assurance:

"With the holy Quran as his surety, this slave of the Imperial Court [of His Afghan Majesty] enters into a solemn agreement with Nawab Ahmad Khan Bahadur *Ghalib Jang,* a brother as dear as life, and takes upon himself to write this document on behalf of His Exalted Majesty that whenever the said Nawab should arrive in the Imperial camp, he should receive honours, exaltations and confidence more than the *Sardars,* and that such favours should be bestowed upon him as have never been conferred on anyone else in India; that no heed should be paid to whatever is said about him by his enemies; that ranks, *jagirs* and territories that belong to him of old and are held at present should be continued, and more offices should be added to them; that the administrative affairs in the conquered territories of India should be conducted with his consultation and advice; and that his enemies should be regarded as our own enemies. God and his apostle are witnesses to this. If any deviation occurs in this, it shall be deviation from God and his apostle."

Ahmad Khan Bangash was pleased to receive these letters and he came to pay his respects to the Shah on Monday, the 13th of Sha'ban, 1173 A H., March 31, 1760. The following is an eye-witness description of the visit recorded by the Jaipur *vakil* Rai Harprasad for the information of Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh:

"The camp of the Nawab [Ahmad Khan] is lying in the gardens of Kol to the east. The camp of the Shah is in the gardens to the west, at a distance of one and a half *kroh* (about three miles). Amidst display of fireworks, with bands playing and hand-torches placed on elephants, the Nawab, mounted on an elephant, left his camp four *gharis* before

sunrise and arrived at the gate of the Shah's residence. At this place usually sat the prime minister and other high officials. Under the Shah's orders, the whole place from the door of the royal palace to the lines of the *lashkar* had been swept clean and sprinkled with water. The whole army stood in lines on both sides of the passage. Strict instructions had been issued that none should in any way obstruct any sawar or foot-servant of the Nawab.

"From *darikhana* the Nawab, accompanied by his sardars and confidants, numbering over one hundred, went into the presence of the Shah and offered the following presents:

On his own behalf

Elephants	..	2
Ashrafis	..	1,001
Rupees	..	5,000
Cloth pieces, of *zarbaft* (brocade, gold cloth), *kamkhab* (embroidered cloth of different colours) *mashruh* (silk and cotton mixed), *makhmal* (velvet), *banat* (broad cloth), *safed baf* (white lace), *chhint* (chintz, highly glazed calico of different colours), etc.	..	40

On behalf of his companions from his own treasury

Ashrafis	..	500

FOR PRINCE TAIMUR

On his own behalf

Elephant	..	1

On behalf of his son

Ashrafis	..	101

"The Shah honoured him with a valuable robe of distinction of four pieces, a turban with an aigrette and a jewelled ornament, a horse, a sword and a dagger set with gold and gems. At the same time the Shah was pleased to tell him that in future the affairs of India would be conducted with his consultations and advice

"After paying the usual compliments at the time of taking his leave of the Shah, the Nawab came to the *darikhana* and had conversation with the prime minister for a couple of *gharis*. In reply to the Nawab's enquiry the prime minister told him, 'We had in India two enemies: first, the Marathas whom we have uprooted, and second, the intensity of heat which, with the grace of God, is about to end. Now His Imperial Majesty wishes to settle the administrative affairs of India with your advice.'

"The Nawab then took leave of the prime minister and mounted his elephant at the gate of the *darikhana*. With bands playing, and himself distributing money in charity, he passed through His Majesty's troops and arrived at his camp about three hours after sunrise.

"Such is the discipline in the Shah's *lashkar* that none of the ministers, pay-officers or chief officials rides an elephant. Nobody dare play a band or beat a drum. The Nawab [Ahmad Khan] went from his camp and returned to it with bands playing and drums beating. The whole of the Shah's army, from the lowest to the highest ranks, that had collected there for the *tamasha*, were wonderstruck to see the manner in which Ahmad Khan was honoured by the Shah who had not thus honoured anybody else from amongst the chiefs and nobles either in India or in the *vilayat*.

"After the Nawab had returned to his camp, the Shah had it proclaimed in his own *lashkar* by the beat of drum that no man from Afghanistan should in any way exhibit religious fanaticism towards the Hindus and Musalmans of India, nor should the strong tyrannize over the weak, nor should anyone in any way interfere with the religious practices and other customs of the people."[21]

SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITH SHUJA-UD-DAULAH

The Shah stayed at Aligarh for about two months and when the rainy season set in with its incessant downpours in July, he shifted his camp to the high ground on the western bank of the Ganges at Anupshahr. But he had not been sitting idle all this time. His envoys had been actively engaged in securing allies for the coming struggle with the Marathas. The most important of these was Shuja-ud-Daulah of Oudh, with his headquarters at Lucknow. Of all the chiefs and nobles in northern India, he had the strongest army and artillery. "His Gosain troops were the most reckless fighters among the Hindus and formed a compact brotherly corps of ten thousand horse and foot, and he had, besides, a number of able and devoted Shia officers in his

21. *Murasalat-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Nos. 22, 23, 24.

service. Each side (Ahmad Shah and the Marathas) held out to Shuja the bait of making him the Wazir of Delhi after placing Shah Alam on the imperial throne." The Shah sent, one after the other, Malika Zamani, the widow of Emperor Muhammad Shah, Sardar Jahan Khan, his own commander-in-chief, and Najib-ud-Daulah the leading Ruhila chief. The Marathas also were negotiating with him at the same time. But Najib-ud-Daulah ultimately succeeded in winning him over to the Shah's side. The Marathas were an ambitious people with schemes of domination over the whole of India. They could not, therefore, be relied upon for the safety of the Oudh dominions. With the fear of the Durrani invader removed, they might at any time be induced to march upon his territories and overpower him. Ahmad Shah Durrani, on the other hand, had no designs upon the Mughal Empire beyond the neighbouring province of the Panjab. He occasionally descended upon the country either for rich booty or to wreak his vengeance upon his enemies and to re-establish his lost prestige. The fears of Shuja on account of sectarian differences with the Shah, who was a Sunni while he himself was a Shia, and on account of any vindictive feelings that the Shah might be harbouring for his father Safdar Jang's victory in the battle of Manupur in 1748, were quickly dismissed by the personal assurances of Najib-ud-Daulah, who stood guarantee for a respectable reception at the hands of the Shah. On demand, the Shah unhesitatingly guaranteed him, in writing, a safe conduct and the promise for wazirship. Shuja-ud-Daulah then paid a visit to Ahmad Shah at the camp of Anupshahr. The Afghan minister, Shah Wali Khan, went out on the 4th of Zilhijja, 1173 A.H., July 18, 1760, to receive him at a few miles' distance from the camp. The Shah was highly pleased to meet him and bestowed upon him rich dresses of honour and the title of *Farzand Khan*.[22]

22. Rajwade, i 191, 204, 215, 217a, 219, 222, 226, 233, 236; *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi*, 42; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 595-96; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 910-11. When the Shah gave to Shuja-ud-Daulah the robe of ministership of Delhi, Shuja said, "Who is the Padshah? Whose minister am I to be? You sit on the throne, and I shall be your minister? Why

RELATIONS WITH RAJPUT CHIEFS

Something must, at this stage, be said about the Shah's relations with the Rajputs. From the very beginning of the Shah's career in India, the Maharajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur had kept themselves aloof from his opponents. Raja Ishri Singh of Jaipur had taken practically no part in the battle of Manupur in March, 1748. It is true that he had arrayed himself on the side of the Mughals, but he had fled from the field in the very first action and had helped the Shah as an agent provocateur in the Mughal army. In 1757 the Rajputs had kept quiet even when the sacred Hindu towns and temples of Mathura and Brindaban were sacked and burnt and pools of blood flowed in their streets. For the present invasion, the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur had actively associated themselves with the Ruhila Afghans in inviting the Shah to India and in soliciting him to stay in the country. They had been hard pressed by the Maratha aggressions and they found safety in the Shah's operations against them. The Shah, on the other hand, greatly valued their neutrality which was more helpful to him than their active co-operation in the field of action. If they had joined the Shah with their armies, they would have weakened the defences of their own territories and exposed them to Maratha inroads. And, their withdrawal, under these circumstances, from the side of the Shah would have affected the morale of his other allies. The Shah, it seems, had a clear picture of the whole situation. For these reasons, he never called them to his side with troops either to fight against the Marathas or against the Jats. But he maintained a regular correspondence with them and kept them well posted with all the developments on his side and wished, in return, to be kept fully informed about what was happening in their territories. He showed great regard for them. In one of his letters to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, the Shah assured him of the "faithful

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make a fool of me by giving these meaningless robes?"—Rajwade, i. 236. Shuja-ud-Daulah at the same time kept the Marathas in good humour by writing that they should not be annoyed for his friendship with the Durrani. Rajwade, i. 227.

affection of a brother towards him" and of his "kindest regards towards the entire community of the Rajputs on account of their old happy relations and attachment to our God-given kingdom." Informing the Jaipur chief of a victory that the Afghan troops gained against twenty thousand veteran *sawars* of Ghazi-ud-Din and Jankoji on Sunday the 2nd of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1173 A.H., December 23, 1759, in their letter of the 8th of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, December 29, the Shah and his prime minister Shah Wali Khan, and also Najib-ud-Daulah, told him that during the current campaign proper arrangements would be made for the administration of the country and that the Shah's armies would move into the Deccan for the subjugation of the Marathas. The Raja was asked to place his men in such positions as to block the passage of the fugitive Marathas through his territories. The Raja was further desired to send a *vakil* of his to the Shah to place his demands and wishes before him. Again, in their letters of February 18, 1760, the Shah and Shah Wali Khan assured him that "after the rainy season, with the grace of God, we shall move into the Deccan and punish the mischievous people of that country like the evil-doing Malhar." The Rajas on their part maintained their loyalty to the Shah throughout the campaign and remained true to their professions during the most critical days immediately before the battle of Panipat.

SURAJ MALL JAT REMAINED ADAMANT

The Shah's negotiations with Raja Suraj Mall of Bharatpur, however, did not bear fruit. The proud Jat spurned all overtures for alliance with the foreign invader and stuck to his guns. In spite of his differences with the Deccanis, who had been a source of constant danger to his territories, he was inclined to side with his co-religionists. He had offered shelter to Malhar Rao Holkar and Jankoji Shinde, in addition to Ghazi-ud-Din, their friend, and a large number of other less important people. With eight thousand Jats he accompanied the Maratha force, under Sadashiv Bhau, to Delhi and was of considerable help in its conquest. But the tactlessness and arrogance of Sadashiv in disregarding the

pledges of Suraj Mall to Ghazi-ud-Din soon alienated his sympathies, and he returned to his territories.[23]

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE MARATHAS

The Shah had, at the same time, been carrying on negotiations with the Marathas themselves for a peaceful conclusion of the struggle. Malhar Rao Holkar, as we know, had called the envoy of Hafiz Rahmat Khan on his arrival at Bharatpur after his flight from near Sikandrabad early in March, 1760. Writing on the 24th of Rajjab, 1173 A.H., March 13, from Sarota near Bayana, Parshotam Mahadev Hingne had informed Sadashiv Bhau that an interview had taken place between the envoy of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Gangadhar Yashwant Tatya and that it had been agreed that Hafiz should himself meet the Sardar, Malhar Rao Holkar, and arrange for the return of Ahmad Shah to his country. Hafiz should then join the army of Malhar Rao for the defeat of Najib-ud-Daulah, in consideration of which the Marathas promised not to touch his country. But, evidently, Hafiz Rahmat Khan could not join the Marathas

23. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 593-96; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 911-12; Rajwade, 186-191; Qanungo, *Jats*, i. 124-38.

The Shah had also carried on negotiations with Ghazi-ud-Din with a view to detaching him from the Marathas Ghazi-ud-Din wavered, says Qanungo, but "the news reached Delhi", he continues, "on 19th February (2nd Rajjab, 1173 A H.) that peace had been concluded between the Shah and Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk, the latter having been confirmed in the office of Wazir". But the arrival of the Marathas from the Deccan under Sadashiv Bhau again threw the fickle-minded Ghazi into their lap, and he proceeded with them to Delhi to be installed as minister after its occupation. He was sadly disappointed to find that Sadashiv would not keep his promise. This was one of the reasons for the defection of Suraj Mall Jat, who had made a common cause with them against the Durranis in spite of his previous bitter experience.

G.S. Sardesai gives four causes for the defection of the Jats: (1) the families of the Marathas had not been sent to Gwalior; (ii) the Wazirship had not been given to Mir Shahab-ud-Din (i e., Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk); (iii) the silver ceiling of the darbar-room had been removed and (iv) the management of Delhi had not been given to them. Quoted in Qanungo's *History of the Jats*, i. 136-37 footnote. Also see Sarkar, ii. 255-58.

granted, the fort was evacuated by Yaqub and it passed into the possession of Sadashiv Bhau on the 2nd of August, 1760.[25]

The capital of the Mughal empire yielded no booty to the Maratha conqueror. It had already been drained of its wealth by Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah and Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din. Sadashiv was in urgent need of money. His soldiers had not been paid for a long time. At Delhi they were reduced to starvation. No revenue was forthcoming. It had become impossible for the collectors to raise even loans in those days of chaos and confusion when the rich people had either fled away or had been plundered, or could not trust the borrowers. Thus circumstanced, Sadashiv Bhau ordered the remaining silver ceiling of Shah Jahan's Diwan-i-Khas to be removed and converted into coins — some of the ceiling had been removed previously by Ghazi-ud-Din. But this could not relieve him of his pressing needs for more than a month. In the meantime, leaving the government of Delhi in the hands of Naro Shankar Pandit, as its governor, Bhau moved out of the city on the 12th of August and encamped near Badli, blocking the ferry of Barari to the Ruhilas, who, it was feared, could otherwise have crossed over to the west of the Jamuna and harassed the Marathas. He stayed here for two months and then left northwards with a view to reducing the Ruhila town of Kunjpura which, with its enormous stocks of food and fodder, was virtually a base supply depot of Ahmad Shah Durrani.[26]

MARATHAS SEIZED KUNJPURA

With Bhau's men and horses starving, it had become absolutely necessary for him to seize the storehouses of Kunjpura. He left his camp on the 10th of October and arrived there on the 16th. The attack began in the early

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25. Rajwade, i. 223-24, 246; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 33; *Husain Shahi,* 44; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 593-95; *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 103-5. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 911-12

26. *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 105-6; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 912; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 33b-34a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 596-97, SPD. ii. 130, 131; xxi 193; xxvii. 255, 257, 258; Rajwade, 281, *Tazkirah-i-Shakir Khan,* 82; Sarkar, ii. 261-67.

hours of the following morning. Kunjpura was defended by about ten thousand men, two thousand of them were encamped outside the city under the command of Sardar Abdus Samad Khan Muhammadzei of Hashtnagar, the Shah's governor of Sirhind, and Mian Qutab Shah. The defenders were overpowered by the Marathas. In their effort to charge their assailants, Abdus Samad Khan fell dead on the field, while Qutab Shah was wounded. Mixed with the flying Ruhilas and Afghans, the Marathas also entered the town. Immense booty fell into the hands of Bhau. 'Two hundred thousand maunds of wheat and other goods of a total value of ten lakhs, and six and a half lakhs of rupees in cash," in addition to three thousand horses, a large number of camels and some guns came into their possession. The city was plundered and houses looted by the soldiers and camp-followers. "So vast was the quantity of the captured provisions that the Maratha troops were paid their weekly subsistence in grain." Najabat Khan, the chief of the town, and Qutab Shah were taken prisoners. The former died of his wounds, while the latter, who had cut off and carried away the head of Dattaji Shinde in the battle of Barari, was beheaded. The severed heads of Abdus Samad Khan and Qutab Shah were mounted on spears and paraded in triumph through the bazars of the Maratha camp[27]

SHAH ALAM II PROCLAIMED EMPEROR OF INDIA

Before we close this account of Sadashiv Bhau's activities in Delhi and its neighbourhood and enter upon the battle of Panipat, it may be mentioned that from his first stage of Laleri, after his march from his camp near Badli, he had deputed two of his trusted officers, Nana Purandare and Appaji Jadav Rao, to Delhi with instructions to depose the puppet emperor, Shah Jahan II and to proclaim Shah Alam II king in his place. This was done on the 10th of October, and

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27 *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 106; Kashi Raj, *Ahwal-i-Jang-i-Bhau wa Ahmad Shah Durrani,* 11; *Imad-us-Sa'adat,* 186; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 912, *Tarikh-i-Husaini,* 44-5; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* 597, *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 34-35; Rajwade, i 255, 259, 260, 265, iii 507; vi. 405; SPD. xxi. 191, 192, *Manazil-u-Futuh,* 16, 193, 197, 198 Sarkar, ii. 267-71.

Mirza Jawan Bakht, the eldest son of the Emperor Shah Alam, was installed as heir-apparent to carry on the government in the absence of his father. The office of Wazir was conferred on Shuja-ud-Daulah in the hope of winning him over to the Marathas' side. Shah Alam II was the son of Alamgir II. He was at Ghotauli, five miles north of Son East Bank railway station, in Behar, when he received on the 21st of December, 1759, the news of the murder of his father. Here, on the 24th of December, he proclaimed himself Emperor of India under the title of Shah Alam II, although at Delhi Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din had raised Shah Jahan II to the throne. Although proclaimed Emperor at Delhi by the order of Sadashiv Bhau on the 10th of October, 1760, with his own son at the capital, it was ten years and some three months later that Shah Alam II returned to the city of his ancestors on the 6th of January, 1771.[28]

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28. *Delhi Chronicle*; Munna Lal, *Shah Alam Namah*, 74-5; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 912; Rajwade, i. 258-59; Sarkar, ii 269, 555.

CHAPTER XIX

THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT

(January 14, 1761)

THE SHAH CROSSED TO THE WEST OF THE JAMUNA

When Sadashiv Bhau conquered Delhi, Ahmad Shah Durrani was encamped at Anupshahr. Peace negotiations were continued through Shuja-ud-Daulah; but flushed with victories, the Maratha chief was not in a mood to come to any reasonable terms. He moved to Shahdara near Delhi in the beginning of October, but had not been able to cross the Jamuna on account of floods. The sack of Kunjpura and the plunder of his supplies exhausted the patience of the Shah. Hearing of the capture of Kunjpura by the Marathas and of the disgraceful manner in which the heads of Abdus Samad Khan and Mian Qutab Shah had been paraded in the Maratha army, he called the Afghan Sardars to his presence and said, "Now, I cannot bear the Afghans being dishonoured while I am living." He sent out men in search of fords and moved northward on the 20th of October. A staunch believer in the efficacy of prayers, he fasted for two days and prayed to God. And, when a ford was discovered near Baghpat, he muttered some holy verses over an arrow and shot it into the river. Under his orders, the Afghans then plunged into the Jamuna on the 25th of October. He himself crossed it on the 26th, and, by the evening of the next day, the Afghan army was on the western bank.[1]

MARATHA PATROLS PUSHED BACK BY AFGHANS

Sadashiv had, in the meantime, moved away from Kunjpura in the direction of Kurukshetra for a religious bath. He had posted a patrol, about a thousand strong, near

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1. *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 35b-37b; *Husain Shahi,* 45-6; Kashi Raj, 14; Sarkar, ii. 282-84; *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 106; *Manazil-u-Futuh,* 17.

Sonepat. But they had not been very vigilant. Shah Pasand Khan was sent against them with a force of four thousand Afghans, who surprised them by a sudden rush and put them to the sword on the 27th of October. A battle was fought the next day between the advance patrols of the Marathas and a force of the Afghans near Sarai Sambhalka, where the former were pushed back. The latter returned to their camp. The Shah halted for three days at Ganaur (28th-30th), and arrived at Sambhalka on the 31st. When Sadashiv, on the other hand, learnt at Taraori of the Shah having crossed the Jamuna, he immediately wheeled back to meet him and arrived at Panipat on the 29th of October. Here the Shah arrived on the 1st of November, and took up position at a distance of about five miles from the Maratha camp.[2]

THE AFGHANS AND MARATHAS TAKE POSITIONS

At last Ahmad Shah Durrani and Sadashiv Bhau came face to face on the historic battle-field of Panipat to decide the fate of Hindustan for a long time to come. Not far from here was fought at Kurukshetra the great battle of the Mahabharat between the Pandavas and the Kauravas. At Panipat was decided the fate of India in favour of the Mughals in 1526, when Babur established himself on the throne of Delhi and laid the foundation of the Mughal empire. Here was defeated Hemu *bania* by Akbar the Great in 1556. Here again was to be fought the decisive battle of the age between Ahmad Shah Durrani and Sadashiv Bhau. It halted the power of the Marathas for over two decades. "And when towards the close of the (eighteenth) century it had by the exertions of Mahadji Sindhia recovered a great portion of its former might," says Malleson, "the English had established themselves so firmly as not only to bear the shock of the collision but to recoil it on their enemy."

In order to find out the strength of the Maratha force and to discover their plan of war, the Shah kept to his entrenchments and would not allow his men to stir out beyond where they could not easily be supported. This was

2. SPD. xxi. 194; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 37b-38a; Kashi Raj, 14.

interpreted by the Marathas as a sign of timidity on his part and they hoped to have an easy walk-over. They were also under the impression that the fidelity of his Indian allies had been shaken by the reverses at Delhi and Kunjpura and that the Shah might at any time quietly retreat to his country without fighting even a single battle with his opponents But they were soon disillusioned to find him entrenched in a strong position, not easily assailable by them.[3]

MINOR SKIRMISHES

Two months were occupied by skirmishes between the advance guards or patrolling parties of the two armies with varying results. On the 19th of November, Fateh Ali Khan, the brother of Ibrahim Khan Gardi, of the Maratha service, attempted a night-attack on the camp of the Shah and succeeded in carrying away a few pieces of artillery. Three days later, Shah Wali Khan was surprised by the troops of Sindhia and they would have inflicted heavy loss on the Afghans, if the latter had not been timely reinforced. Then a fortnight passed without any serious fighting.[4]

On the 7th of December, the Marathas moved some of their guns to a position opposite the Ruhilas and fired at them. There was no sharp exchange of fire and the evening set in without either side claiming superiority. But the Ruhilas were waiting for their chance in the approaching darkness of night. No sooner did they find the Marathas retiring to their original position than Sultan Khan, brother of Najib, sallied out with one thousand horse and five thousand foot and pounced upon the enemy. The deadly fire from the Ruhila muskets scattered the Maratha horsemen guarding the guns. In the meantime, the main army of the Marathas was up in arms. The Ruhila horsemen then ran back to their camp, while their infantry with their musket fire pushed back the pursuers and captured the deserted guns. At this time, Ibrahim Khan Gardi rushed forward with his musketeers. He was accompanied by Balwant Rao Mehendale. The Ruhilas suffered very heavily in the renewed

3 Sarkar, ii. 298-300.

4. *Delhi Chronicle; Husain Shahi*, 52.

struggle and left three thousand dead. The Maratha commander, Balwant Rao Mehendale, was killed. He was the most trusted lieutenant of Sadashiv Bhau to whom this loss was irreparable. This was a great setback for the Marathas.[5]

THE MARATHAS BLOCKADED BY SHAH

The Shah then decided upon blockading the Marathas. "Every night a body of 5,000 Durrani horse advanced as far as they could in safety towards the enemy's camp, and there they remained all the night, keeping watch against a surprise attack. Two other bodies of his horse made half circles round the Maratha encampment, one to the right and the other to the left. These night-patrols, each at least 5,000 strong, mounted on powerful Turki horses and commanded by practised cavalry leaders, like Shah Pasand Khan and Jahan Khan, cut off every provision convoy that attempted to steal into the Bhau's camp and every party of camp-followers that issued from Panipat under cover of darkness to gather firewood and fodder in the neighbouring woods. The southward road to Delhi was the first to be closed by reason of the Afghan army sitting astride it." The Kunjpura grain-stores had, in the meantime, been captured by Diler Khan Ruhila. The only hope of the Marathas then lay in Sardar Ala Singh of Patiala who came to their help at this critical moment and supplied them with provisions from the north-west. The city of Panipat had no laid-up stores of grain and was reduced to the point of starvation at the hands of its occupants.[6]

GOVIND BALLAL SURPRISED BY AFGHANS

News arrived during the second week of December that a Maratha revenue-collector, Govind Ballal, had moved up

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5. Sarkar, ii. 304-6; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 42b-43a; *Delhi Chronicle; Husain Shahi*, 52; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 913; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 598-99; Rajwade, i. 272.

6. *Manazil-u-Futuh*, 19; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 913; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 698; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 106-7; *Tarikh-i-Janko-wa-Bhau* (Ali Ibrahim Khan), 41; *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, ii. 127; Sarkar, ii. 306-10.

from his headquarters at Etawa and was ravaging the estates of Najib-ud-Daulah. It was feared lest this move of the enemy should spread consternation among the Shah's Ruhila allies and cause some desertions. He, therefore, detached a fresh Durrani force of five thousand horse under the command of Haji Atai Khan and Karimdad Khan (who had recently arrived from Lahore), guided by Karim Khan Ruhila of Najib's service, to march against Govind Ballal. Crossing the Jamuna near Baghpat, they swooped down upon Shahdara near Delhi and cut down the Maratha outpost in the evening of the 16th of December. The next morning they annihilated a corps at Ghaziabad and then sprang a surprise upon Govind Ballal at Jalalabad, which he had sacked a day or two earlier. Without any appreciable resistance, the Marathas took to flight. Govind Ballal was shot dead and his head was cut off to be carried to the Shah. Vast quantities of grain and other stores fell into the hands of the Afghans, and the fear of the supplies from the Ruhila territories being cut off was removed. And, never after this date was the want of provisions felt in the Shah's camp.[7]

A MARATHA DETACHMENT ANNIHILATED

The efforts of Gopal Ganesh Barve and Krishnanand to raid the lower Doab with the help of Balbhadra, the Raja of Tiloi, and other rebel landlords, were frustrated by the troops of Shuja-ud Daulah, who fell upon them near Nawabganj and scattered the raiders.[8] But a harder blow had yet to come. Bhau had sent a detachment of his men to Delhi to fetch some lakhs of rupees, which Govind Ballal had transmitted to Naro Shankar Pandit. The first instalment was received safely in the Maratha camp. But the second accidentally fell into the hands of the Durrani. One lakh and fifty thousand rupees were made over by Naro Shankar to

7. *Delhi Chronicle;* Kashi Raj, 15-16; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 45b-46b; Behari Lal, 8-9; *Husain Shahi,* 50-51; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 913; *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 107-8; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 599-600; Rajwade, i. 264, 272; iii. 511; *Manazil-u-Futuh,* 17-18; Sarkar, 310-13; *Ahmad Shah Baba,* 272.

8. SPD. ii. 134; Rajwade, iii. 511, Sarkar, ii. 313-14. C. *Oudh Gazetteer,* ii. 479-80.

three hundred troopers under Parashar Dadaji, each man carrying three hundred rupees tied to his waist. Afraid of the Durranis, six of these men returned to Delhi on the first day of their march and handed back the money. But the others pushed on and, travelling by night, arrived at Panipat in the early hours of the 6th of January, 1761. But they missed their way in the darkness and got into the left wing of the Durrani camp instead of their own. Here their language betrayed them. In Marathi they enquired of some one as to which general's camp that was. On hearing them speak in Marathi, the Durranis fell upon them and the whole body of 293 was annihilated. Only one of them escaped to Delhi to tell the tale of this disaster.[9]

SADASHIV SUED FOR PEACE—OVERTURES REJECTED BY SHAH

These disasters and the vigilant night-patrols of the Shah, which cut off the Maratha provisions from all sides, damped the enthusiasm of Sadashiv. In fear and despair, he appealed to Shuja-ud-Daulah "to arrange a peace at any price between him and the Shah and sent him a *carte blanche*, in the form of the impression of his palm dipped in saffron on a piece of blank paper, to be his credentials as a plenipotentiary, together with the most solemn oaths for a Hindu to abide by any settlement that he might make." Shah Wali Khan, the Shah's minister, was willing to enter into peace negotiations, and the Shah himself would have availed himself of this proposal. But the vindictive Najib-ud-Daulah and the blood-thirsty Afghans and Ruhilas, worked up by the emotional appeals of Qazi Idris for a holy war against the infidels, pressed for war. "Recite the prayer for war," said the Shah, "the idea of making peace has been given up."[10]

SADASHIV DECIDED TO FIGHT

There was then no alternative but to fight. Besides, the absence of food and fodder in the camp had reduced the Marathas to difficult straits and life had become intolerable.

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9. *Husain Shahi*, 51-52; Rajwade, i. 281; *Manazil-u-Futuh*, 18-19; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 41b; Kashi Raj, 16; Sarkar, ii 314-15.

10 Kashi Raj, 20-21; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 43b-45; Sarkar, ii. 316-17.

On the 13th of January, some of the leading officers and soldiers surrounded Sadashiv's tent and represented to him the pitiable condition of the soldiers owing to want of food. "For the last two days, we have had nothing to eat," said they. "Grain cannot be had even at two rupees a seer. Instead of perishing in misery by starvation, we would rather go to fight the enemy. Whatever the fate has ordained must happen." Thus goaded by circumstances, Sadhashiv decided to launch an attack upon the Afghans early in the following morning and ordered his officers to prepare themselves for the next day's struggle.[11]

Sadashiv sent his last note to Shuja-ud-Daulah in his own handwriting saying: "The last moment has now come. If anything is possible, do it immediately, or let me have a negative reply. After this there will be no further opportunity for the exchange of notes or words." Shuja-ud-Daulah immediately went to the Shah, woke him up from his sleep and informed him of the Maratha preparations for the impending struggle. In the same sleeping dress the Shah mounted his favourite horse, Choki by name, ordered his army to be ready for the fight and rode out a mile in front of them to direct and supervise their formations.[12]

Sadashiv, evidently, had not worked out any plan for the battle except a general engagement on the whole of the front. He could not follow the old traditional tactics of his race at Panipat. He was tied down to the town, wherein were lodged many Maratha families and camp-followers, in addition to heavy artillery and all sorts of property, acquired during the past seven months. He could not easily retreat in case of defeat, leaving his women and property at the mercy of the enemy. "Like a desperate gambler, the Bhau staked everything on one throw of the dice." He commanded the centre himself, with Ibrahim Khan Gardi on his left, while the right wing was held by Malhar Rao Holkar and Jankoji Shinde.[13]

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11 Kashi Raj, 22-23; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 46; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 108; Beharilal, 9; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 914.

12. Kashi Raj, 23; *Husain Shahi*, 55.

13. Sarkar, ii. 324-26.

THE OPPOSING ARMIES

Ahmad Shah, on the other hand, had worked out his plan to the minutest detail. "With the instinct of a born general," says Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "he placed over half (18,000) of his own national troops in the centre in charge of his *wazir*, while the two other corps—about five thousand each, mostly cavalry mounted on superb Persian horses—were sent to his extreme right and left. Thus, his Indo-Muslim allies were wedged in between strong bodies of Durrani troops on both sides and any attempt at treachery or flight on their part could be promptly crushed. These divisions on the extreme wings also rendered the favourite Maratha tactics of a flank attack impossible and thus heartened his Indian associates by guarding them against such a danger." Najib-ud-Daulah and Shuja-ud-Daulah were sent to the left, commanded by Shah Pasand Khan, while the *par* (trans-Ganges) Ruhilas like Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Donde Khan were placed in the right wing. The Shah extended his line over seven miles, over-lapping the Marathas, "and his extreme right and left wings were bent inwards like the horns of a crescent so as to out-flank and threaten the ends of the Maratha line." The arrangements of the opposing armies with their respective strength were as follows:

DURRANIS

Left Wing:	Shah Pasand Khan	5,000 all horse
	Najib-ud-Daulah	15,000 all foot and dismounted cavalry
	Shuja-ud-Daulah	3,000 ⅓ foot-musketeers
Centre:	Shah Wali Khan	19,000 men and 1,000 swivels
Right Wing:	Ahmad Khan Bangash	1,000 foot
	Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Donde Khan	14,000 ¼ or less cavalry
	Amir Beg and Barkhurdar Khan	3,000 Kabuli infantry Persian horse
		60,000

MARATHAS

Left Wing:	Ibrahim Khan Gardi	8,000 all foot-musketeers
	Damaji Gaikwar	2,500 horse
	Vithal Shivdev	1,500 horse
Centre:	Some petty Captains	2,000 -do-
	Sadashiv Bhau and Vishwas Rao	13,500 household troops

Right Wing:	Antaji Manakeshwar	1,000 horse
	Satvoji Jadav	1,500 -do-
	Minor Captains	2,000 -do-
	Jaswant Rao Pawar	1,500
	Shamsher Bahadur	1,500
	Jankoji Shinde	7,000
	Malhar Rao Holkar	3,000
		45,000 [14]

BATTLE BEGAN BY GARDI'S ATTACK

The battle began with a cannonade from the Maratha guns and the first attack was led by Ibrahim Khan Gardi with a flag in one hand and a musket in the other. Ordering two of his battalions to check the Afghans under Barkhurdar Khan, he fell upon the Ruhilas in the right wing of the Shah. The struggle was desperate and at first it appeared as if Gardi would rout the Ruhilas back and drive them away. But he soon lost his superiority in a face-to-face fighting. Then came reinforcement from the Shah and the battalions of Gardi were overpowered and annihilated. Damaji Gaikwar came to the support of Ibrahim Khan but he was outnumbered. The remnants of Gardi's Talingas and Damaji's Marathas could not hold their own against the Afghans and Ruhilas and took to flight. Thus failed the attack of the Maratha left wing.[15]

VISHWAS RAO AND SADASHIV KILLED IN THE BATTLE

Simultaneously with the attack of Ibrahim Khan on the right of the Afghans, Sadashiv Bhau had attacked the Afghan centre under Shah Wali Khan. There was exchange of fire from both sides. The incessant fire of the lighter pieces of the Afghan artillery, more mobile and more efficiently handled than the heavy guns of the Marathas, proved deadlier. All of a sudden, the Maratha guns ceased firing. Then, in an instant, with thunderous war cries of *Har Har Mahadev,* Sadashiv's men desperately rushed upon the Durranis of Shah Wali Khan and pierced through the front skirmishers.

14. *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 46b-47a; *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 107; *Manazil-u-Futuh,* 20-21; Kashi Raj, 25-6; Sarkar, ii. 321-22.

15. *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 47a; Kashi Raj, 26-7.

There was confusion in the Afghan ranks, and some of Haji Atai Khan's men gave way. Shuja could not come to the support of the shaking centre. It would weaken his own left wing, opposed to Jankoji Shinde and Malhar Rao Holkar. However, in the absence of a strong cavalry squadron, which could charge the confused Afghans and put them to flight, Bhau could not make the best use of his advantageous position. In the meantime, the Shah's officers rallied the retreating Afghans, collected all available troops from the camp, added to them a detachment of the Shah's bodyguard and pushed them on to support Shah Wali Khan. These fresh troops turned the tables upon the exhausted Marathas who were thrown off their feet and pushed back. But like a brave soldier, Sadashiv fought on. At this critical moment, Wishwas Rao, the Peshwa's son and the nominal commander-in-chief of the force, rushed into the thick of the fight with the household cavalry. But this made no appreciable impression upon the Afghans who were further reinforced by the eagle-eyed Shah with three fresh squadrons of slaves. Under instructions from their master, they displayed peculiar tactics. They enveloped the Marathas from three sides. One squadron came up from the right, discharged their muskets at the enemy and went away to the left while the second rushed from the left, fired at the Marathas and hurriedly moved on to the right. The third squadron advanced from the front, poured fire into the vanguard and then wheeled to the rear. Those movements left no time for the enemy to compose themselves. Before they could do so, these squadrons had loaded their pieces and returned to repeat the same thing again. With all this, the Marathas made three attacks upon the centre of Shah Wali Khan. But his men had regained their position and stood firm like a rock. At about a quarter past two, Wishwas Rao was shot dead by a bullet. This was a very great shock to Sadashiv. He collected his personal followers, gathered as many of other troopers as he could, and then led a last desperate attack upon the Afghans. He received a spear wound and was thrown off his horse by a bullet in the thigh. While walking with the help of a spear, he was challenged by five Durrani horsemen, who wished to rob him of his costly jewels and dress. Like

a wounded lion, he fell upon his assailants and was killed under their swords. His head was cut off and carried away. "Thus perished Sadashiv Rao Bhau on the grave of his reputation and of the imperialistic dreams of his race."[16]

THE BATTLE ENDED WITH THE DEFEAT OF MARATHAS

There was practically no fighting on the left wing of the Shah and the right of the Marathas. Malhar Rao Holkar and Jankoji Shinde had tasted of the Afghan steel. They did not stir out of their positions to the last. Availing himself of the chicken-heartedness of these chiefs, Najib-ud-Daulah had, during the day, crept up to a place within the firing range of the Marathas. But they took no initiative. Towards the close of the day when the centre and the right had been cleared, Shah Pasand Khan and Najib-ud-Daulah delivered an assault on them. Malhar Rao, followed by most of the troops of Jankoji, was the first to fly away in utter rout. Jankoji was wounded and pushed back with a great loss. Thus ended the battle of Panipat.[17]

THE LOSS OF THE ENEMY

So great was the loss inflicted on the Marathas by the forces of Ahmad Shah that twenty-eight thousand bodies in thirty-two heaps were counted the next morning, in addition to those lying in the ditch round their camp. Thousands of them were reported to have been killed, pursued by the Durranis, with hundreds of the wounded dying of cold during the night. The booty was enormous. As many as 22,000 men, women and children, including the sons and other relatives of the chiefs and officials, were made captives. Beautiful Brahman women were sold by the Afghans to the Ruhila and other Indian soldiers at the rate of one *tuman* (about ten rupees) each. The cash and jewellery were beyond calculation, and the camels and horses innumerable.[18]

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16. *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 47a-50b; *Manazil-u-Futuh*, 21-23; Kashi Raj, 28-31, 39; *Husain Shahi*, 54-57; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 914.

17. *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 51a; *Manazil-u-Futuh*, 23; Kashi Raj, 29; *Husain Shahi*, 57.

18. *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 50b-51a; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 108-9; Beharilal, 10; Kashi Raj, 37; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 914.

Apart from the booty in slaves, cash, jewels, elephants camels, horses and other property that he carried away to enrich his people in Afghanistan, the Shah derived no political gain from this grand and decisive victory.

On the 15th of January, 1761, the day after the victory, the Shah entered the city of Panipat dressed in a splendid robe with glittering jewels including the Koh-i-Noor and made a pilgrimage to the mausoleum of Shaikh Bu Ali Qalandar. He halted there only for a few days and then set out for Delhi. At Narela, sixteen miles from the Mughal capital, he was welcomed by the ex-Empress Zinat Mahal and her grandson Mirza Jawan Bakht. The Shah arrived at his destination on the 29th of January. Naro Shankar Pandit, the Maratha governor, had escaped with the help of Zinat Mahal.[19]

SHAH'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE THRONE OF INDIA

The battle of Panipat gave a crushing blow to the daily increasing power of the Marathas in northern India. The whole of the Mughal empire now lay prostrate at the Shah's feet. But he did not press the advantage home. He had reasons for it. He was more than a mere political adventurer. He was an Afghan to the very marrow of his bones, intensely devoted to his country and his people. He could not, like Babur, permanently settle in India to occupy its throne. And he knew it was impossible to govern such a large country from his capital at Qandahar. Moreover, it would have taken years of incessant war to completely subjugate this great country. Such a war would have been impossible from his bases in Afghanistan, with the intervening long lines of communication through the Panjab where the Sikhs were growing powerful in all directions, offering serious challenge to his claims to suzerainty. All his efforts in India were directed to annexing the adjoining rich country of the Panjab and to securing the safety of its frontiers with

19. *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 51b; Kashi Raj, 37, 41; *Delhi Chronicle.* During his stay at Panipat the Shah ordered some of the captives, including Ibrahim Khan Gardi, to be put to the sword *Vide Chahar Gulzar-i-Shnjai,* 258; Kashi Raj, 36-7; Rajwade, i. 158, 286; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 601; *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 108; *Husain Shahi,* 58.

a view to relieving the needs of his poor country. It was with this object in view that he wished to have on the throne of Delhi a person friendly to himself. Emperor Alamgir II, as we know, had been murdered by Ghazi-ud-Din. His son Prince Ali Gauhar had proclaimed himself Emperor under the royal title of Shah Alam II in Behar at Ghotauli in December, 1759. From there he had sent his agent Munir-ud-Daulah to the Shah to beg for his support. The embassy of Munir-ud-Daulah coincided with the arrival of the Shah in the neighbourhood of Delhi in the last days of December, 1759. During the whole of 1760, Munir-ud-Daulah remained with the Shah. On his arrival at Delhi, January 29, 1761, the Shah was pleased to confirm Shah Alam II on the throne of Delhi, and the Dowager Queen Zinat Mahal (mother of Shah Alam) and Munir-ud-Daulah prevailed upon him to issue farmans to the various ruling princes of the country and also to Colonel Clive in Bengal to recognize Shah Alam as the rightful emperor. The Shah personally spoke to Shuja-ud-Daulah and Najib-ud-Daulah and established Prince Jawan Bakht in the citadel of Shahjahanabad (Delhi) as deputy to his father Shah Alam and ordered coins to be struck and *khutba* to be read in his name.[20] The Shah at the same time desired the Mughal emperor through his ambassador, Munir-ud-Daulah, to return to his capital and occupy the throne of his ancestors.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE MARATHAS

Although defeated, the Marathas were still strong enough to be reckoned with. This fact the Shah could not easily ignore. As Emperor Shah Alam was acceptable to the Marathas also, he had no fear of their upsetting this arrangement. But the arrival of the Peshwa himself with a large Maratha force in the neighbourhood of Gwalior set him thinking. He wished to run no further risks. Like a wise victor, he availed himself of the offer of the Maratha agent, Bapuji Mahadev Hingne, to bring about an understanding between himself and the Peshwa, and, after consultations with Hingne,

20. Sarkar, ii 543; Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, ii. 445-46; Murtaza Ali Khan, *Munir-ud-Dowlah*, 14-6.

he ordered Yaqub Ali Khan to proceed to Gwalior and procure a treaty of peace with the Peshwa.

But the unsound health of the Peshwa and the hesitation of the Maratha sardars like Malhar Rao Holkar and Naro Shankar Pandit to meet the Shah resulted in delaying the negotiations.

The Shah could understand the depressed feelings of Peshwa Balaji Rao who had lost his eldest youthful son, Vishwas Rao, a cousin, Sadashiv Rao, and a number of valiant sardars and a huge army in the battle of Panipat, and he sympathized with him in his bereavement. Expressing his genuine anxiety for reconciliation, he wrote to him: "There is no reason why there should exist any ill-will between you and us. True, you have lost your son and brother in the unfortunate fight but it was entirely provoked by Bhau Saheb and we could not act otherwise than we did in self-defence. However, we are deeply sorry for these losses. We readily leave to you the subject of imperial management of Delhi, provided you allow us to hold the Panjab up to the river Sutlej and support Shah Alam as the Emperor. You must forget the regrettable events that have taken place and entertain a lasting friendship towards us, which we are anxiously soliciting." Wazir Shah Wali Khan also wrote to him in the same spirit of good-will and sent these letters through their *vakil,* Gulraj, accompanied by the customary robes of honour.

Gulraj met the Peshwa on February 10 and conveyed his principal's message to him. The Peshwa too was equally anxious for peace and he commissioned Gangadhar Chadrachud to proceed to Delhi and adjust matters. Thus the essential points of the terms of peace were all discussed and determined by the middle of March and they had only to be formally reduced to writing. But for reasons of health the Peshwa could not stay there for long to see them through and had to leave for the Deccan on March 20. Three days later, on March 23, during the journey, he wrote to his *vakil,* Hingne, saying, "I am enclosing my replies to the letters received from the Shah Abdali and his Wazir Shah Wali Khan and delivered here by their agent Gulraj. I am deputing Anwarullah Khan and Husain Muhammad Khan to

negotiate peace with the Shah. I have authorized Malhar Rao to conclude the subject. You must now deal directly with Holkar and accept his decision. I want you to take full counsel with these two advisers, Anwarullah and Husain Muhammad, and continue to keep me informed of the progress of negotiations".

The Shah too in the meantime had left for home on March 20. Before his departure, however, "the Shah gave definite instructions in the presence of Hingne to Shuja-ud-Daulah and his Ruhila allies," wrote Gangadhar Yashwant on behalf of Malhar Rao in May 1761 to the Peshwa, "that he had effected a lasting peace with the Peshwa and that they all should respect the latter's authority, which course alone could benefit them most." The Shah also ordered Yaqub Ali Khan to go with Hingne to the Peshwa at Poona for concluding the treaty.[21]

EXPEDITION AGAINST SURAJ MALL JAT GIVEN UP

While at Delhi during the month of February, the Shah had reopened negotiations with Suraj Mall Jat of Bharatpur. On the evening of the 21st of February, Najib-ud-Daulah presented Nagar Mall and Majlis Rai, the envoys of the Jat, in the hope of shifting the burden of the Shah's demands upon himself to others' shoulders. But Zinat Mahal was not in favour of any talks with Suraj Mall, who had given protection to Ghazi-ud-Din, the murderer of her husband, Alamgir II. She rightly observed that Suraj Mall was not the man to pay a pie without being reduced to extremity. The Shah, therefore, fitted out an expedition and ordered his minister Shah Wali Khan to march upon the Jat stronghold, in the company of Zinat Mahal, Prince Jawan Bakht and Mirza Babur. On the 7th of March, they set out for Agra. But the Durranis refused to move further in the direction of Mathura. They had been away from their homes for sixteen months and they longed to return to their country. They had been in arrears of pay ever since their arri-

21. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, ii. 44-48; Sarkar, ii. 378-82.

val in India. They had lived on hopes of a rich booty, but these too had been belied. Nothing had fallen to their share at Panipat, and in Delhi there had been no loot this time. And now the poor and barren territory of the rugged Jats offered no alluring prospects. Only stiff resistance with shot and shell from the strongholds of Suraj Mall awaited them. Moreover, they abhorred the idea of spending another summer in the burning heat of northern India, particularly in the region of Mathura where they had lost hundreds of their comrades daily by cholera in March, 1757. The Shah was, therefore, compelled to recall Shah Wali Khan and return to Afghanistan. The Shah's proposal for a meeting at Agra between his prime minister and Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, to which he had invited the Rajput chief, had also to be abandoned.[22]

SHAH LEFT FOR AFGHANISTAN

On the 13th of March, he sent out his *pesh-khaima,* advance tents and baggage, and left the city of Delhi on the 20th for his camp in Ahmadganj. He began his homeward march on the 22nd and arrived at Ambala on the 27th.[23]

No sooner did the Shah enter the Panjab than the Sikhs, as usual, began to harry him during his march. Under the command of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, they surprised the Afghans at the ferry of Goindwal, on the right bank of the Beas, and succeeded in releasing from their clutches as many as two thousand and two hundred women captives, who were restored by them to their homes. On his arrival at Lahore, the Shah sent out a few expeditions against them, but as he was encumbered with heavy baggage and booty, and had to return home before the summer, he could take no effective measures against them.[24]

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22. *Murasalat-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani,* Nos 25, 27.

23 *Delhi Chronicle; Najib-ud-Daulah,* 52b-53b; Sarkar, 375-6; Qanungo, 143 The Jat is said to have paid one lakh of rupees to the envoys of the Shah, with a bond to pay five lakhs *afterwards.*

24 *Tarikh-i-Panjab* (Kanhaiya Lal), 102-3; *Shamsher Khalsa,* 145 (507).

ARRANGEMENTS FOR DELHI, SIRHIND AND PATIALA

Before his departure from Delhi, Ahmad Shah had confirmed Shah Alam II as the emperor of India, with Mirza Jawan Bakht as heir-apparent. Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk was appointed the prime minister and Najib-ud-Daulah the commander-in-chief of the forces. But with the consent of Zinat Mahal, Najib-ud-Daulah became the regent in Delhi on the 7th of April, 1761. Zain Khan was appointed the governor of Sirhind, while Sardar Ala Singh of Patiala was recognized, by a rescript issued on the 22nd of Sha'ban, 1174 A H., March 29, 1761, the ruler of the territories held by him. Mirza Taqi was left at Patiala to collect the tribute of five laks of rupees promised by Ala Singh.[25]

THE PANJAB IN 1759-61

While on his way to Delhi, the Shah had appointed Karimdad Khan governor of the Panjab. On his being recalled to the Shah's presence, Sarbuland Khan was sent there. Afraid of the Sikhs, he kept his headquarters at Jullundur and nominated Sa'adat Yar Khan as his deputy at Lahore. After a few months, Diwan Surat Singh was given the charge of Lahore. But he resigned his office soon after. He was replaced by Mir Muhammad Khan, son of Mir Moman Khan of Kasur. But he too was unable to hold his own against the Sikhs. When, after a *Gurmata* on the occasion of Diwali festival at Amritsar, the Sikh Sardars like Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Jai Singh Kanhaiya, Hari Singh Bhangi, and Gujjar Singh and Lahna Singh, fell upon Lahore in November, 1760, and stayed there for eleven days, Mir Mahmud Khan appeased them with a present of thirty thousand rupees for *karah prasad*. For this he was imprisoned and the government of Lahore was made over by Sarbuland Khan to Yaqub Khan (a nephew of Karimdad Khan), assisted by Azmat Khan Durrani and Gul Muhammad Khan. As the payment had been made out of the revenues of the

25. Behari Lal says that Najib-ud-Daulah received the title of Amir-ul-Umra from Ahmad Shah. p. 10. Also see *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 602; *Tahmas Namah*, 105a, 107b: *Husain Shahi*, 60.

Chahar mahal of Pasrur, Aurangabad, etc., payable to the royal Afghan treasury, Yaqub Khan and Azmat Khan reported the matter to the Shah, perhaps, with a view to absolving themselves of any responsibility that he might lay upon them. The Shah, in reply, ordered that the money be realised from the leading citizens of Lahore like Shah Ghulam Hussain Pirzada Sirhindi, Mian Naqi Muhammad. Mir Nathu Shah, Mir Shahar Yar, Hafiz Qadir Bakhsh and others through whom the payment had been made to the Sikhs. The citizens, however, represented to Yaqub Khan that they would place their case before the Shah on his return from the south and would personally appeal to His Majesty's magnanimity for the remission of the amount. Should they fail in their efforts, they would raise it from the city and pay it in.

On his arrival in the Doaba Bist Jullundur, the Shah asked Nawab Sarbuland Khan for the money. The Nawab sent Khwaja Ubaidullah Khan as his *vakil* and pleaded through the prime minister, Shah Wali Khan, that throughout the period of his tenure he had been busy with the suppression of the Sikhs and that his revenues had been mostly spent on troops and that the balance had been paid into the royal treasury. When the citizens of Lahore learnt that the Shah was moving in that direction and that in a day or two he would arrive at Amritsar, they repaired to his presence at the latter place and, presenting to him copies of the *Panj-sura* through Shah Wali Khan, sought an interview with him. To appeal to his Islamic sentiments they told him that when the Sikhs had sacked their city and set it on fire, thousands of copies of the holy Quran had been burnt and that a large number had been carried away by them. The Shah, they said, was the defender of the faith and it was a pity that over and above this calamity they had been called upon to pay back the money that had been spent in buying off the enemy to save the faithful from their clutches. The Shah was pleased to remit the amount and dismissed the suppliants with the orders of remission issued to Yaqub Khan and Azmat Khan under the royal seal.

On the Shah's arrival at Lahore on April 26, 1761, Sarbuland Khan was transferred to Multan, and Khwaja Ubaid Khan was appointed to the Government of Lahore, while Raja Ghumand Chand Katauch was given the government of Doaba Bist Jullundur, with Sa'adat Khan and Sadiq Khan Afridi as his deputies. The Shah then returned to Afghanistan, harassed, of course, by the Sikhs as far as the banks of the Indus.[26]

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26 *Delhi Chronicle; Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 149-50, 153; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 260-64; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, 82-84; *Shamsher Khalsa*, 144-45.

CHAPTER XX

THE AFFAIRS AT HOME

(1760--1761)

PRETENSIONS OF HAJI JAMAL KHAN

While the Shah was in India fighting the Marathas, two ambitious and discontented Sardars raised, one after another, the standards of rebellion and proclaimed themselves kings of Afghanistan. The first was Haji Jamal Khan of the Zargarani tribe. He seems to have put forward his pretensions at a time when the Marathas had occupied Delhi, sacked the Afghan town of Kunjpura and harassed the Afghan detachments at one or two places. Haji Jamal proclaimed himself king at Qandahar and coined money in his own name. The Shah's victories in India, however, soon brought him to his senses. He renounced the royal position he had assumed and withdrew from the active politics of the country.

REBELLION OF ABDUL KHALIQ KHAN

The second, Abdul Khaliq Khan, Ahmad Shah's own nephew, was more stubborn, and less judicious. He raised his standard at Girishk. He was joined by two Afghan Sardars, Dilawar Khan Is'haqzei and Zal Beg Popalzei. They had lost the confidence of the Shah at Baghpat at the time of crossing the river Jamuna on the 26th of October, 1760. While the Shah ordered his men to plunge into the river, these Sardars had hesitated to obey his orders. He then threw his own horse into the water and swam to the other side. These men were then obliged to run the risk, for the troops were ashamed to see their sovereign braving death while they themselves remained only passive spectators. Fearing the anger of the Shah, they had left the camp by stealth and marched back to their country. On arrival in Afghanistan, they spread wild rumours that the Shah had hopelessly lost the battle of Panipat and had met with great reverses and disasters in India. The Shah heard of this

rebellion at Delhi, and ordered his famous general Abdullah Khan, better known by his surname Shah Pasand Khan, to march to Afghanistan to quell the rebellion of Abdul Khaliq Khan and his accomplices. The Shah enjoined upon him, above all things, to hasten to Qandahar and to make every endeavour to arrive there before Abdul Khaliq could reach from Girishk. In spite of all his exertions, Shah Pasand Khan could not get to Qandahar in time to save it from falling into the hands of the rebels. Abdul Khaliq had, in the meantime, captured the capital and driven out Mirza Suleman, the eldest son of the Shah, who governed there in the absence of his father. Misled by the rumours spread by Dilawar Khan and Zal Beg, a number of other Sardars had joined the rebels. But when they discovered the truth and when the triumphant Afghan cavalry arrived under the command of Shah Pasand Khan, they deeply regretted their folly. The only way they could make amends and secure the pardon of the Shah was to disassociate themselves from the arch-rebels, Dilawar Khan and Zal Beg, and to make prompt submission to Shah Pasand Khan. With only a few exceptions, all the Afghan Sardars hastened to the camp of Shah Pasand Khan to welcome the heroes of Panipat and to deliver up to them the city of Qandahar, along with the chief rebel, Abdul Khaliq himself.

The Shah was at Peshawar, on his way back from Delhi, when he received the despatches of his general informing him of his success at Qandahar. As he proposed to stay for some time at that place, he desired his son, Mirza Suleman, to use every possible means to capture the Sardars, who had so treacherously deserted his cause, and to put them to the sword. Feigning to forget the past, Suleman wrote a friendly letter to Zal Beg and invited him to Qandahar. Zal Beg Khan fell into the trap. No sooner did he enter the city than he was captured and put to death by the orders of the prince. Dilawar Khan proved to be a cleverer man. He quietly fled to Herat and placed himself under the protection of Prince Taimur Shah, the governor of that place. There was no love lost between the two brothers. Taimur received him in a somewhat eager manner, gave him the full protec-

tion and showered all kinds of honours upon him.[1] This was in keeping with the national characteristic of the Afghans, who are hospitable to those who seek their protection.

FOUNDATION OF NEW QANDAHAR

For some time Ahmad Shah had been thinking of building the city of Qandahar anew. To the Shah, who was intensely patriotic, the town of Nadirabad, founded by the Persian conqueror in 1738, appeared to be a standing disgrace to the Afghan people, reminding them of their humiliation and subjugation at the hands of the Persians, over whom they had ruled as conquerors for a number of years. To translate his scheme into action, the Shah desired a deep canal to be dug on the eastern side of the city near the village of Ghandab, running into the desert, with a view to raising the new city on its western bank. The lands on this side belonged to Ghani Khan of the Alikozei tribe, and, as his people were not willing to leave them, the Shah postponed the idea. In the meantime, his mother died. She was an Alikozei. The Shah buried her in the Alikozei lands and built a *rauza,* or mausoleum, over her tomb. Its surroundings soon grew into a village called Rauza.

He then turned his attention to the western side where he proposed to raise a fort near the village of Marv. To this the Barakzeis would not agree. The Shah would use no harsh measures to have his own way. He was looking for some other site when the Popalzeis waited upon him in a body, and placed their estates at his disposal saying, "Whichever of the lands in our estates the Shah selects for his proposed city shall be gladly given." The Shah was highly pleased to receive this offer. He selected a piece of land, twelve ploughs in extent, in the Popalzei estates and laid the foundation of the new city under the name of Ahmad Shahi Qandahar, also called the *Ashraf-ul-Balad,* the noblest of cities.

He invited to this place men of all Afghan tribes to build their houses. Leaving an extensive space for later expansions, he ordered a strong defensive wall to be built round the city.

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1 Ferrier *History of the Afghans,* 89-91.

This work, particularly that of the towers, was entrusted to expert Indian masons. After the foundations of the pillars had been laid, the master-mason suspended the work for some time. The Shah wished him to hurry up with the work of the pillars and towers. But, to his great surprise, the master-mason, all of a sudden, disappeared from Qandahar and fled towards Nishapur. The work was then entrusted to other engineers. Six months passed before it could be started by new men. Then suddenly one day the old engineer returned to Qandahar and represented to the Shah that he had disappeared from his work to allow sufficient time for the foundations to be properly set and that the time had arrived for them to be built upon. In due time, the towers and domes were raised and the Shah was pleased to see the progress his new city was making. When the defensive wall, with its bastions, ramparts and twelve towers, and the surrounding ditch, was complete, the Shah made presents to the Shaikhs, Sayyads, and other learned and holy men of the country and sought their prayers and blessings.[2]

"Qandahar is situaetd between the Argand and Tarnak rivers, on a level plain covered with cultivation; on the north-west a low ridge rises to the height of 1000 feet. The shape of the city is an irregular parallelogram, the length being from north to south with a circuit of 3 miles, 1006 yards." The ditch is 24 feet wide and 10 feet deep. The wall, which is made of mud, hardened by exposure to the sun, is 20½ feet at the botton, 14½ feet thick at the top and is 27 feet in height. "There are four main gates, through which run the principal streets, and two minor gates. The Bar Durrani and Kabul are in the eastern face, the Shikarpur on the southern face, the Herat and Topkhana on the western face and Idgah on the northern face. The Bar

2 *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 142-44; *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh,* i. 25-6. The *Tarikh-i-Husaini,* 26, followed by *Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* 19, places it after the third invasion of India. I have followed the Afghan writers who should be more correct in the sequence of events. The *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh* clearly mentions the date of the foundation of the new city as 1174 A.H. which ends on the first of August, 1761. The Shah left Lahore in May, 1761. The foundation of Ahmad Shahi Qandahar, *Ashraf-ul-Balad,* may, therefore, be conveniently placed in June-July, 1761.

Durrani and the Topkhana are the minor gates. The gateways are defended by six double bastions and the angles are protected by four large circular towers. The curtains between the bastions have fifty-four small bastions distributed along the faces. From the Herat gate a street runs to the Kabul gate through the city; commencing from the Shikarpur gate and crossing it at right angles near the centre, another leads to the citadel,"...situated to the north of city.[3]

3. Hamilton, *Afghanistan,* 190.

Chapter XXI

THE SIXTH INVASION OF INDIA

THE GHALU-GHARA AND AFTER (1762)

KHWAJA MIRZA JAN DEFEATED AND KILLED BY SIKHS

The arrangements made by Ahmad Shah for the administration of the Panjab on his return to Afghanistan in May, 1761, were all upset by the Sikhs. They had pursued him up to the Indus. On their way back, they were opposed by Khwaja Mirza Jan, who then held the charge of the Chahar Mahal, the four districts. The Khwaja was defeated and killed in the struggle and his troops were annihilated.[1]

UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION OF NUR-UD-DIN BAMEZEI

Arriving at Qandahar, the Shah had sent out an expeditionary force to the Panjab under the command of his general, Nur-ud-Din Bamezei, who had sacked and burnt Bhera, Miani and Chak Sanu in 1759. Crossing the Chenab, he came into conflict with a Sikh chief, Sardar Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia, who had established himself at Gujranwala. Nur-ud-Din was worsted and had to fly for shelter into the fort of Sialkot. The Sukkarchakkia Sardar laid siege to it. Nur-ud-Din had an army of about twelve thousand men but as the surrounding country was all in the hands of the Sikhs he could find no food and fodder for his men and horses and was reduced to helplessness. Leaving his men to their fate, Nur-ud-Din left the fort of Sialkot in the darkness of night and fled to Jammu. The Afghan army surrendered to the Sikh chief, who allowed them to depart in peace. Sardar Charhat Singh then returned to his headquarters at Gujranwala.[2]

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1. *Tahmas Namah*, 108b.
2. *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, ii. 6-7; *Panth Prakash*, 762; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, 84; *Makhzan-i-Panjab;* 417.

KHWAJA UBAID KHAN WORSTED BY SIKHS

Hearing of the discomfiture of the Durrani general, Khwaja Ubaid Khan, the governor of Lahore, collected a large force and issued forth from Lahore to chastise the Sikhs. Halting for a few days at Eminabad, the Khwaja marched upon Gujranwala. Several Sikh Sardars such as Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Hari Singh Bhangi, Jai Singh Kanhaiya, Lahna Singh, Sobha Singh and Gujjar Singh flocked to the assistance of their comrade and made a night-attack upon the besiegers. A detachment of the Sikhs in the Khwaja's service also joined their co-religionists and turned upon him. Thus circumstanced, Ubaid Khan fled to Lahore, leaving all his artillery and baggage to fall into the hands of the Sikhs. The guns and equipage of the governor added considerably to the strength of Sardar Charhat Singh and his comrades, who spread in all directions and expanded their conquests throughout the country.[3]

JASSA SINGH AHLUWALIA PROCLAIMED KING OF LAHORE

Emboldened by these successes, the Sikhs, under the command of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, followed up their victory to the walls of Lahore and triumphantly entered the city with the help of the leading citizens who opened the gates to them. Without completely establishing themselves in the capital, the fort of which was still held by Khwaja Ubaid Khan, they proclaimed Sardar Jassa Singh king of Lahore, with the title of *Sultan-ul-Qaum*. Leaving a detachment at Lahore to keep Khwaja Ubaid shut up in the fort, they rushed into the Jullundur Doab and routed the Durrani *faujdars*, Sa'adat Khan and Sadiq Khan Afridi, while their chief, Raja Ghumand Chand Katauch, quietly slipped into the hills on their approach. Thus passed the entire Panjab from the Indus to the Sutlej into the hands of the Sikhs, with only a few

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3. *Tahmas Namah*, 108b-109a; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 154; ii. 7-8; *Ibrat Namah* (Ali-ud-Din), 264-66; Khushwaqt Rai, 77-80, 188-98; Ahmad Shah, *Tarikh-i-Hind*, 340-41 (890-91); Bute Shah, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, B. 5; Ratan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 494-96; Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash*, 762; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, 84.

refractories, here and there, owing allegiance to the Shah of Afghanistan.[4]

THE SIEGE OF JANDIALA BY SIKHS

The Sikhs celebrated their famous seasonal festival of Diwali at Amritsar on the 27th of October, 1761. There in an assembly of the *Sarbat Khalsa* — the general body of the Sikhs — they passed a national resolution, called the *Gurmata*, to seize the strongholds of the Panjabi allies and supporters of Ahmad Shah, who were a hindrance to the release of the country from the foreign invaders. The nearest at hand was Aqil Das, the Guru of the dissentient Niranjani sect of the Sikhs, at Jandiala, about twelve miles to the east of Amritsar.[5] The decision was conveyed to Aqil Das by Sardars Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia with a view to demanding his submission to the Khalsa, as the Sikhs called themselves. Aqil Das immediately wrote to the Shah and sent off a camel-sawar post-haste to seek his help.[6]

THE SIEGE RAISED

The Shah had, in the meantime, heard of the activities of the Sikhs and left for the Panjab for the relief of his officers. On his arrival at Rohtas, he received the messenger and also a second letter from Aqil Das, beseeching him to hasten to his rescue. With only a few selected horsemen, he hurried from Rohtas and arrived in the neighbourhood of Jandiala. His force followed him soon after. But to his great surprise, the Sikhs had raised the siege and disappeared. On receipt of the intelligence of the Shah's march, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had told the besiegers that the Shah intended to surprise them by a night-attack. Aqil Das was under the impression that the raising of the siege by the Sikhs was only a trick to throw the defenders off their guard and to return to it when vigilance slackened and the gates of the town opened. He, therefore, sent out scouts for information regarding their whereabouts. But the Sikhs had crossed the

4. Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash*, 809-11; *Tahmas Namah*, 109a-b; *Khazanah-i-Amira*, 114.

5. Khushwaqt Rai, 78; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 266-67.

6. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 267; *Gazetteer Amritsar District*, 165; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, 85.

Beas and were not to be seen anywhere in the neighbourhood. The scouts, however, came and informed Aqil Das that at a distance of four miles from Jandiala they had seen a man, wearing four jewels on his turban, sitting under an awning of broad cloth, with twelve musketeers standing respectfully in front of him. Guessing him to be the Shah, Aqil Das hastened to pay his respects to him. After making the customary presents, Aqil Das informed the Shah that he had been besieged by ninety thousand Sikh horsemen and that they had left Jandiala on hearing of His Majesty's arrival. By the evening Shah Wali Khan also arrived at the camp and as many as three thousand soldiers joined him. The Shah sent out spies for intelligence and returned to Lahore.[7]

The Sikhs had raised the siege of Jandiala and gone to the trans-Sutlej side for several reasons. Hearing of the arrival of the Shah, they wanted to send away their families to places of safety with their friends and relatives, either to the south-western areas of the Brar Sikhs in the direction of the Lakhi Jungle, or to the south in the neighbourhood of Raipur and Gujjarwal. They had known how Mathura and Brindaban in 1757, and Panipat and its neighbourhood in 1761, had been sacked and devastated by the armies of Ahmad Shah and how large numbers of women and children had been made captives and carried away in slavery. They would not have the same thing happen to them in the case of a reverse. Secondly, unencumbered and care-free, they could fight running battles, harass the enemy from the flanks and the rear, run away beyond his reach when needed, and return to attack him whenever possible. Thirdly, they had to avenge the death of Sardar Dyal Singh Brar, who had been put to death by Zain Khan, the governor of Sirhind.

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7. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 267-68; *Husain Shahi*, 61-63; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 156-57; Khushwaqt Rai, 78; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 145; Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash*, 812. The number of the Sikh besiegers given by Aqil Das as ninety thousand is very much inflated. Kanhaiya Lal (*Tarikh-i-Panjab*, 84-85) tells us that Aqil Das was a great friend of the Muslims and that he had lent a large sum of money to the Shah at the time of his Delhi expedition. Hard pressed by the Sikhs, says the author of the *Husain Shahi*, the followers of Aqil Das hung out shanks of beef from their fort-walls.—*Vide* p. 61.

Hearing of the assemblage of the Sikhs in the villages to the south of Raipur and Gujjarwal, within six to ten miles of Malerkotla, Bhikhan Khan, the Afghan chief of the place, called in the assistance of Zain Khan and informed the Shah of their presence in his territory where they could be easily surrounded and annihilated.[8]

SHAH MARCHED AGAINST THE SIKHS

On receipt of this welcome intelligence, the Shah left Lahore on the 3rd of February, 1762, and hurried down through Jandiala and Talwan. On the 4th of February, the Shah despatched swift Durrani couriers to inform Zain Khan that he would fall upon the flank of the Sikhs the next day and that Zain Khan should march out with all his troops in the morning and attack them from the front Receiving these orders, Zain Khan, Bhikhan Khan of Malerkotla, Murtaza Khan Baraich, Qasim Khan Marhal, Diwan Lachhmi Narayan and other officers prepared themselves for the next day's onslaught.[9]

THE DAY OF THE HOLOCAUST

Early in the morning of the 11th of Rajjab, 1175 A H., February 5, 1762, Zain Khan moved out with his troops and detached Qasim Khan to lead the attack The Sikhs were taken by surprise. They were about thirty thousand in number, including a large number of women, children and non-combatant followers, encumbered with *bar-bardari* or camp-

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8. Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash*, 815-16, Ratan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 444.

9. *Tahmas Namah*, 110a,b, Ratan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 444, Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash*, 815

On the 10th of Rajjab, 1175 A. H, February 4, 1762, Shah Wali Khan, while acknowledging the receipt of his letter, wrote to Raja Har Sahai, the vakil of Sawai Madho Singh of Jaipur, that "after the extirpation of the indolent Sikhs from the surface of this land, the Shah would go on a sporting excursion to Sirhind and its neighbourhood. Fully assured and steadfast, you should continue writing about the happenings on your side". In reply to this letter Har Sahai, some time later, wrote to the Shah that as a mark of his allegiance and devotion the Maharaja had deputed Bhim Singh Rathor to attend upon His Afghan Majesty, to pay formal respects on his behalf and receive the Shah's orders for him.—*Murasalat-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, No 36, 39.

equipage and other luggages. The battle began with the attack of Qasim Khan on the *bahir,* the camp followers and non-cambatants, of the Sikhs near the village of Kup, about six miles to the north of Malerkotla. The Sikhs soon came together and began fighting. With the rise of the sun, the Shah appeared on the scene. His messengers informed Zain Khan that he had detailed his Uzbek contingents to lead the attack, with orders to kill everyone found in Indian dress, and that Zain Khan should, therefore, instruct his men to wear green leaves of trees or green grass on their heads to distinguish themselves from the Sikhs.[10]

Learning of the attack, the Sikh Sardars rushed to the rescue of their *bahir* Qasim Khan could not stand against them and took to flight and disappeared with all his men towards Malerkotla. Tahmas Khan then joined Murtaza Khan Baraich, who was standing on an eminence with five hundred men. At this time, the troops of Ahmad Shah came and surrounded them under the impression that they were the friends of the Sikhs. Tahmas Khan, who wore a cap on his head, went to the Afghans and informed them that they were the men of Zain Khan. The Shah then bestowed a shawl upon Murtaza Khan and ordered him to join Shah Wali Khan and Zain Khan, who were going to attack the Sikhs with eight thousand *sawars.*

The Sikhs then held a council and decided to send away their *bahir* with the *vakils* of the Malwa Sardars. Sangu Singh, the agent of the Bhais of Kaithal, Sekhu Singh Hambalwala, the agent of Sardar Ala Singh of Patiala, and the agent of Bhai Buddha Singh were asked to lead the *bahir* away to safer places. But they had hardly gone about three miles when Shah Wali Khan, Zain Khan and Bhikhan Khan fell upon them. But they failed to disperse the Sikhs who threw a cordon (*gol qila*) round the *bahir* and moved on fighting and fought on moving, occasionally turning upon their assailants and inflicting losses on them. Not being able to break through the Sikh cordon, the Shah pushed forward more troops under the command of Sardar Jahan Khan.

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10 *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 114; Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash,* 815-16; *Husain Shahi,* 65.

He too failed to do anything more than creating some confusion in their ranks. More Afghan troops were then sent forward to break their line, but, with their usual dogged tenacity, the Sikhs kept to their positions. Seasoned soldiers as they were, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia spurred their horses from one point to another and directed the movements of the *bahir*, and of the main army trying to protect them. As it was difficult to deal any hard blow to them without a pitched battle, the Shah sent off messengers to Zain Khan and Lachhmi Narayan, upbraiding them for their inability to hold the Sikhs in the front. "If you hold them in the front and stop their onward progress, I shall annihilate them in no time," said the Shah. "But it is impossible to hold them back in the front," replied Zain Khan.

Thus moving on fighting, the Sikhs arrived at the village of Gahal. But they could find no shelter there. Fearing the Shah's vengeance, the villagers closed their doors and gave them no quarter. The Sikhs had, therefore, to move on. In the afternoon they came to the villages of Qutba and Bahmani and rushed into them for shelter. But these villages belonged to the hostile Afghans of Malerkotla. Under the instructions of their masters, the Ranghar villagers surrounded the Sikhs on all sides and subjected them to plunder and massacre. Beating their drums, they pounced upon the remaining *bahir* outside. Charhat Singh rushed to their rescue and beat back the Ranghars. But by this time the Sikh cordon had been pierced through in many places and the Afghans and their Indian allies had succeeded in inflicting upon them heavy loss of life, particularly among the non-combatant followers and women and children who had almost all perished. In spite of this, the Sikhs manfully stood the repeated attacks of their pursuers and of the hostile villagers, who had swarmed round them from all directions. And they refused to be put to flight or dispersed. With invincible fortitude and tenacity they held themselves in the field of action and continued fighting a running battle.

Not far from Qutba and Bahmani was a pond of water, and both the sides, the Afghans as well as the Sikhs, rushed to it to quench their thirst. For a short time the battle was

suspended. But it could not be renewed with the same vigour. Towards the evening the Shah had to call a halt in the neighbourhood of Barnala. The pursuit could not be carried further. His men were exhausted. They had covered about one hundred and fifty miles in about thirty-six hours, and had been incessantly fighting for over ten hours against a tough enemy. The Shah had, no doubt, inflicted a heavy loss of about ten thousand lives on the Sikhs, but they were still unbeaten, and their spirit uncrushed. Moreover, he had gone far into the waterless sandy desert where the Sikhs might, with fresh reinforcements, turn upon their pursuers. The Shah would not run any unnecessary risks.

The loss of ten thousand lives, mostly women, children and old men, in one day, for a small community of the Sikhs was so great that this battle, which was more of a carnage, has been called *Wadda Ghalu-ghara,* the great Holocaust, the first smaller one having taken place on the 2nd of Jeth, 1803 Bikrami, June 2, 1746, when the Sikhs suffered a similar loss at the hands of Governor Zakariya Khan's Diwan, Lakhpat Rai of Lahore.[11]

SACK OF BARNALA—SARDAR ALA SINGH OF PATIALA

Barnala was in the territory of the Sikh Sardar Ala Singh of Patiala. The Shah's Indian allies, Zain Khan of Sirhind, his Diwan Lachhmi Narayan and Bhikhan Khan of Malerkotla, were Ala Singh's worst enemies. Instigated by them, he ordered the fort and the town of Barnala to be stormed and sacked and its neighbourhood laid waste. Ala Singh was then in the fort of Bhawanigarh. Diwan Lachhmi Narayan assured the Shah that if he were captured, a ransom

11. *Tahmas Namah,* 110-111a; *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 114; *Husain Shahi,* 64-65; Ratan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash,* 445-58; Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash,* 816-27; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* 157; Ali-ud-Din, 268; Bakht Mall, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan,* 46; *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 145-46; *Tazkirah-i-Khandan-i-Phulkian,* 17; Karam Singh, *Ala Singh,* 218; *Phulwari,* iv. 923-27; Rajwade, vi. 465.

The loss suffered by the Sikhs on this occasion has been variously estimated, ranging from five to thirty thousand. I have followed the figure of Ratan Singh, who tells us on the authority of his father and uncle, who were present in the battle, that out of thirty thousand about twenty thousand came back to the camp in the evening—p. 457.

of fifty lakhs of rupees could be easily secured. No sooner did Ala Singh hear of the Shah's march than he quietly slipped away. However, he soon secured the support of Najib-ud-Daulah and, through his mediation, appeared before the Shah at Sirhind, paid the sum of six lakhs and twenty-five thousand rupees—Rs. 1,25,000 for permission to appear before him with his hair (the symbol of his religious faith) in tact, and 5,00,000 as tribute—and promised to remit a certain amount of revenue for the future. The Shah was pleased to accept this amount and spared his territories. Ala Singh was, however, detained in his camp for some time and was, later on, released on the recommendation of Shah Wali Khan. After a few days' halt at Sirhind, the Shah left on the 15th of February, 1762, and arrived at Lahore on the 3rd of March. Zain Khan was once again left as the governor of Sirhind and Sa'adat Khan was appointed to the Jullundur Doab.[12]

While at Sirhind, the Shah had called the leading Ruhila Afghans and Indian nobles to his presence. Only Najib-ud-Daulah responded to his summons and remained with him up to the first week of April. The Shah was highly pleased with the loyalty of Najib and publicly remarked, "This is the only man worth the name among the Indian Afghans. I have shown many favours to that race, but not one of them, not even Shuja-ud-Daulah, has come to my side." Najib-ud-Daulah returned to Delhi on April 15.[13]

AMRITSAR BLOWN WITH GUN-POWDER

The Shah now turned his attention to the Sikhs. He had carried with him to Lahore fifty carts of the severed heads of the Sikhs and a large number of captives. He thought he

12. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 268; Karam Singh, *Ala Singh*, 222; *Tahmas Namah*, 111b, *Tazkirah-i-Khandan-i-Phulkian*, 17; Bute Shah, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, i. 627.

According to the last two authorities, the amount paid by Sardar Ala Singh was four lakhs of rupees. Kanhaiya Lal, in his *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, 85, gives the amount as seven lakhs.

13. In the first week of Shaban, probably on the 7th of March 1762, the Shah and Shah Wali Khan wrote to Sa'dulla Khan Ruhila.—*Murasalat-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, No. 37, 38.

could thus frighten the Sikhs into submission and silence. A day before the Baisakhi festival, April 10, 1762, he appeared at Amritsar with a large force and ordered the Sikh temple, called the Har Mandir, to be blown up with gun-powder, the allied *bungahs,* or buildings, to be razed to the ground and the sacred tank to be desecrated with the blood and bones of men and cows and filled up with rubbish and debris of the demolished edifices. While the Har Mandir was being blown up, a flying brick-and-lime piece hit him on the nose and wounded him.[14]

RELATIONS WITH THE MARATHAS

Before his departure for Afghanistan in March, 1761, the Shah, had deputed his agent Yaqub Ali Khan to go with the Maratha agent Hingne to the Peshwa at Poona for the conclusion of a treaty of peace with him. But after the departure of the Shah, Yaqub Ali Khan became helpless in the hands of the Wazir-designate Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk, who was himself a puppet in the hands of Suraj Mall Jat of Bharatpur. The mutual jealousies and rivalries of Ghazi-ud-Din, Suraj Mall, Najib-ud-Daulah, the *Ganga-par* (trans-Ganges). Ruhilas, Shuja-ud-Daulah and the Marathas had then added to the confusion of Indian politics which were further complicated by the death of Peshwa Balaji Rao (June 23, 1761).

The new Peshwa Madhav Rao, the second son of Balaji Rao, was only a raw youth of 17 when he received his investiture on July 20, 1761. His hands were full with the affairs of southern India, and he could personally take no active interest in the politics of northern India. The Shah, on the other hand, was anxious to come to terms with the Marathas to be able to establish his dominion in the Panjab unmolested. Having dealt a blow to the Sikhs, he invited the Maratha *vakils* Bapuji Mahadev Hingne and Purshotam Hingne, to

14. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 270; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* i. 155; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 56b-57a; Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan,* 78; Ganesh Das, *Chahar Gulshan-i-Panjab,* 171; *Firqa-i-Sikhan,* 39; Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England,* 278; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat,* 149; Mufti Ghulam Sarwar, *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Panjab,* 198, 471; *Tarikh-i-Kapurthala,* 180.

in his religious views and charitable to the poor. He ordered the mausoleums of the Muslim saints and the gardens of Kashmir to be repaired and properly maintained. After finishing his official duties, he personally supervised the feeding of two hundred Muslims every day. On the 12th and 15th of each month, he distributed cooked food to the people. He was particularly kind and generous to *darveshes* and beggars. He was a great patron of learning. Every week he held public meetings, where poets from all over Kashmir were invited to recite their poems. He planned the writing of a new history of Kashmir, for which he deputed the five topmost poets selected at these meetings. Each of them was to be assisted by ten other scholars of eminence. Muhammad Taufiq was appointed the head of this historical board, the other members being Muhammad Ali Khan Matin, Mirza Qalandar and Muhammad Amin Khan.[16]

But as he had turned out the Afghan governor and upset the authority of His Afghan Majesty and had the coins struck and *khutba* read in the name of the Mughal Emperor, the Shah ordered him to be removed, and appointed Nur-ud-Din Bamezei to take his place. As desired by the Bamezei, Shah Wali Khan sent his own son, Haji Nawab Khan, to Jammu to secure for him the support of Raja Ranjit Deo and to call him to Lahore to make the necessary arrangements for the campaign. Finding the Raja reluctant, Shah Wali Khan sent his second son, Sher Muhammad Khan, to assure him of the goodwill of the Shah. Ranjit Deo, at last, agreed to come to Lahore in the company of the minister's son. The Shah was pleased to receive him, bestowed on him a rich dress of honour and desired him to accompany Nur-ud-Din Bamezei on his expedition to Kashmir. Ranjit Deo willingly accepted the proposal and detailed his son, Brij Raj Deo, to guide the Afghan forces into the valley.[17]

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16. *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 114-15; *Mulakhas-ut-Tawarikh,* 413-14; *Gulab Namah,* 78-79; *Gulzar-i-Kashmir,* 232-33; *Saulat-i-Afghani,* 253; *Majma-ul-Akhbar,* 230a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* 650-51

17. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 268-69; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 920; Rajwade, vi. 384.

Sukh Jiwan, on the other hand, was prepared to meet the advancing force. He had fortified the mountain passes. But in spite of it, the combined army of three to four thousand Afghans and some Jammu Dogras marched into Kashmir through Tosa Maidan. A battle was fought at Chira Odar in the *parganah* of Desu, but no serious resistance was offered by Sukh Jiwan's men. One of his relatives, who commanded his force, fled from the field Finding himself helpless, Sukh Jiwan also took to flight and fell into the hands of a miller, who made him over to Nur-ud-Din. The Bamezei put out his eyes and sent him to the Shah, who ordered him to be put to death. The services of Raja Ranjit Deo were rewarded by the Shah by an annual grant of sixty thousand donkey-loads of rice from Kashmir, while Nur-ud-Din was confirmed in the government of the valley.[18]

THE SIKHS DEFEATED ZAIN KHAN OF SIRHIND

The great carnage of the 5th February had not made any depressing effect upon the Sikhs. Within three months, while the Shah was still in Lahore, they were once again up in arms against Zain Khan of Sirhind and inflicted a defeat upon him (Baisakh, Shaka 1684, April-May 1762). Taken by surprise and defeated in a sharp action, Zain Khan agreed to pay them a heavy tribute of fifty thousand rupees and made peace with them. But they had hardly gone about ten to twelve *kos* from Sirhind when, instigated by Diwan Lachhmi Narayan, Zain Khan fell upon their rear and looted their baggage. The main Sikh army then turned about, attacked Zain Khan and his Diwan, drove them to a pitched battle at Harnaulgarh, 15 *kos* from Sirhind, and plundered their equipage and other property.[19]

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18 *Khazanah-i-Amira,* 115-16; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 269-70; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 920; Rajwade, vi. 384; *Gulab Namah,* 78-79; *Gulzar-i-Kashmir,* 232-33; *Mulakhas-ut-Tawarikh,* 415; *Saulat-i-Afghani,* 253.

19. Rajwade, vi. 384 (p. 453); Sarkar, ii. 490 The year of the Marathi letter No 384 should be 1684 *Shaka* and not 1680, as given in the book.

THEIR EXPANSION

During the months of summer, the Shah removed his camp from the burning heat of Lahore to the milder climate of Kalanaur, the place of Akbar's coronation, in the north-eastern district of Gurdaspur. Emboldened by their success against Zain Khan and by the inactivity of Ahmad Shah, the Sikhs rose on all sides. While Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Tara Singh Ghaiba ransacked the Jullundur Doab, Sardar Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia and the Bhangi Sardars carried their arms to the north and north-west of Lahore In the month of September, a strong army of theirs was encamped in the neighbourhood of Panipat and Karnal. But as the Diwali festival was fast approaching, they marched back homewards and arrived at Amritsar towards the end of the second week of October, 1762 About sixty thousand horse and foot strong, they were determined to measure swords with the Shah to avenge the loss they had suffered in the *Ghalu-ghara*.[20]

INDECISIVE BATTLE OF AMRITSAR

By that time the Shah had returned to Lahore. "Ahmad Shah Durrany," says James Browne, "receiving advice of this, sent a person to the Sick (Sikh) leaders in quality of Ambassador, to negotiate a peace with them, and prevent that effusion of blood, which their desperate determination threatened to produce;—but on arrival of this person in the camp of the Sicks, instead of listening to his proposals, they plundered him and his followers, and drove them away." Finding all efforts at peace fruitless, the Shah marched from Lahore and arrived at Amritsar on the evening of the 16th of October, 1762, the day before the Diwali. Early in the following morning, October 17, the Sikhs drew up their army and immediately proceeded to attack the Durranis. The Afghans, with equal resolution, received their attack. The battle was long and bloody and raged furiously from morning till evening, coming to a close with the darkness of the darkest night of *Amavasya*. The enthusiastic and fierce courage of

20. *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 160; *Delhi Chronicle;* James Browne, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Sicks*, 25.

the Sikhs compelled the Shah to draw off his forces and retire to Lahore during the night.[21]

Before the Shah could march upon the Sikhs again, they had left Amritsar, crossed the Sutlej and slipped into the Lakhi Jungle. He, however, had a minor skirmish with them while hunting out in the Majha territory. One day a small body of Sikh horsemen appeared on the hunting-ground and the Shah ordered them to be captured. All of a sudden, another body appeared on the scene and grappled with the Shah's men. One of them darted at the Shah himself, but before he could deal a blow, he was hit by an arrow through the chest. Some of them fell under the swords of the Afghans, while the others gave them a slip and disappeared in the jungle.[22]

DELHI AFFAIRS

Before his departure for Afghanistan, the Shah also wished to settle the affairs of the Mughal empire. He had, therefore, called Najib-ud-Daulah and the agents of Emperor Shah Alam II to Lahore. Najib arrived there early in October and was soon joined by Nawab Yakub Ali Khan from Delhi and by Nawab Munir-ud-Daulah, Agha Raza and Abdul Ahad Khan from the court of the Emperor As the Shah had no intention to effect any changes, he was glad to recognize and confirm Shah Alam II as emperor of India. He further agreed to use his influence with the Indian princes, by correspondence but without lending his armed aid, to recognize him as such and to instal him in the capital of the empire at Delhi. Najib-ud-Daulah and Munir-ud-Daulah, on the other hand, undertook on behalf of the Emperor to pay to the Shah a tribute of forty lakhs of rupees a year.[23]

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21. James Browne, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Sicks*, 25-26; Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, 279-80; Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, 1001-01. Some writers have questioned the probability of this event Gupta thinks that "such a feat by the Sikhs was not outside the range of possibility". There was a total solar eclipse at 18 *gharis* of the day, on the Katik *Amavasya* of 1819 Bikrami, October 17, 1762, and it became so dark during the day that the stars became visible in the sky.—*Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 160; *Delhi Chronicle.*

22. Ahmad Yadgar, *Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 172-73.

23. *Delhi Chronicle*, Sarkar; ii. 489.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PANJAB

The Shah then made the following arrangements for the governments of the Panjab, Kashmir and Sirhind.

Lahore:	Kabuli Mall, governor of the province, with headquarters at Lahore.
Sirhind:	Zain Khan, the old governor, was allowed to continue.
Hill Territories between the Sutlej and Beas:	Raja Ghumand Chand Katauch of Kangra.
Jullundur Doab:	Sa'adat Khan, allowed to continue.
Kalanaur:	Khwaja Ubaid Khan.
Bari Doab:	Murad Khan.
Rechna and Sind Sagar:	Jahan Khan (in addition to the province of Peshawar).
Kashmir:	Nur-ud-Din Bamezei.[24]

The Shah left Lahore for Afghanistan on the 12th of December, 1762.[25] He marched down the Sutlej to Bahawalpur and then moved northward to Multan and Dera Ismail Khan on his way to Ghazni, through the Gomal Pass. The scorching heat of the Panjab plains during the summer of 1762 had an adverse effect upon his health, and, on his arrival at Ghazni, he was confined to bed for some time. A large number of pimples appeared on his cheeks and they added to the pain of the wound on his nose. His troops also suffered a great deal from the after-effects of the Panjab heat. After a short stay at Ghazni, he moved on to his capital at Qandahar.[26]

24. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 271; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* i. 159; Khushwaqt Rai, 79; *Gulab Namah,* 79; *Gulzar-i-Kashmir,* 233; *Saulat-i-Afghani,* 253.

25. *Delhi Chronicle.*

26. Ghubar, *Ahmad Shah Baba,* 289, 297-98.

Chapter XXII

THE SEVENTH INVASION OF INDIA

STRUGGLE FOR DOMINATION IN THE PANJAB

ACTIVITIES OF THE SIKHS IN THE PANJAB (1763-4)

Nothing is known of the activities of Ahmad Shah in Afghanistan from the time of his return from the Panjab in December, 1762, to October, 1764, when he descended upon India for the seventh time to re-establish his dominion in the Panjab which, during this period of two years, had been wrested by the Sikhs from the hands of his representatives.

No sooner had the Shah left the Panjab than the Sikhs issued forth from their strongholds in the country and rapidly spread themselves in all directions. They had divided themselves into two big divisions, called the *Buddhā Dal,* the Army of the Elders, and the *Tarunā Dal,* the Army of the Juniors, further subdivided into as many as twelve groups, known as *Bārā Mislān.* While the Buddha Dal went about the country establishing their *thanas* and punishing their enemies, the Taruna Dal stationed itself at Amritsar and undertook to cleanse the *Srovar,* or the sacred tank, attached to their temple, which had been demolished and desecrated by the Shah.[1]

The Sikhs had collected at Amritsar to celebrate their national festival of Baisakhi on the 10th of April, 1763, when some Brahmans of Kasur appealed to them against Usman Khan of that place who had forcibly seized one of their women. The Sikhs at once decided to rescue the helpless woman and marched against the Afghan tyrant. Usman Khan, with five hundred of his men, was killed in the affray, the wife of the Hindu was restored to him, and the town, particularly the mansions of the Afghans, was subjected to wholesale plunder.[2]

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1 *Tahmas Namah,* 113a, *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* i. 160.

2 Bute Shah, *Tarikh-i-Panjab,* 534-35; Ahmad Shah Batalia, 491-92; Ratan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash,* 473-81; Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash,* 797-807.

The Jullundur Doab held by Sa'adat Khan was at the same time overrun by the Buddha Dal under the command of their redoubtable leader, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, who defeated Diwan Bishambar Das of Lasara in the battle of Urmar Tanda, took possession of a number of villages and carved out a small principality for himself. The terror-stricken Sa'adat Khan shut himself up in his fort and dared not come out to fight.[3]

JAHAN KHAN'S EXPEDITION FAILED

Hearing of these activities of the Sikhs, Ahmad Shah deputed Sardar Jahan Khan to march against them. Crossing the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab, Jahan Khan entered the Rechna Doab in the month of November, 1763, and made straight for Sialkot, evidently, with a view to securing the help of Raja Ranjit Deo. Sardar Charhat Singh was then in Gujranwala, at a distance of about thirty miles to the south-west. He called the Bhangi Sardars, Jhanda Singh and Gujjar Singh, to his assistance and surprised Jahan Khan with a large force. In the battle that ensued Jahan Khan's horse was killed under him and he fell to the ground. With one voice the Sikhs shouted: "Victory to the Lord (*Wahiguru Ji Ki Fateh*)," and cried out, "We have killed Jahana." Then, sword in hand, they furiously rushed upon the Afghans and scattered them with a heavy loss. Jahan Khan himself took to flight. All his camp equipage and relatives and dependants fell into the hands of the Sikhs. "But as the Sikhs of old would not lay their hands on women," says Ali-ud-Din, "they sent them safely to Jammu."[4]

THE SIKHS CONQUERED AND OCCUPIED SIRHIND

Within a few weeks of this success, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia crossed the Sutlej with the Buddha Dal and, to

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3. *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* 160.

4. *Delhi Chronicle; Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* ii. 11; Ahmad Shah Batalia, *Tarikh-i-Hind,* 964-65 (400-01); *Zikr-i-Guruan,* etc (Supplement to *Umda-tu-Tawarikh,* i.), 14; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 274-75; 358 The last authority ascribes this defeat of Jahan Khan to his differences with Kabuli Mall, the Governor of Lahore, who is said to have instigated the Sikhs against him.

wreak his vengeance upon Bhikhan Khan for his part in the *Ghalu-ghara*, besieged his fort of Malerkotla in December, 1763. The Khan came out to meet them. But he was overpowered by the Sikhs and killed in the battle.[5]

The Dal next moved in the north-easterly direction and sacked the town of Morinda, about fourteen miles to the north-east of Sirhind, and put to the sword the descendants of the local Ranghars, Jani Khan and Mani Khan, who had been responsible for the capture and murder of the young sons of Guru Govind Singh in December, 1704.[6]

Zain Khan of Sirhind had, at this time, become very unpopular with his subjects on account of his oppressive and high-handed policy. "Sardar Zain Khan, I found," says Tahmas Khan, the author of the *Tahmas Namah*, "had upset all previous rules and regulations. He stopped paying salaries to his troops and started unjust plundering and ravaging of the villages in his district, and the looted grain was given to the soldiers in lieu of their unpaid wages at the rate of one-fourth of what was actually due to them He entered into friendly relations with the hill-chiefs and looked only to the amassing of wealth. From these unjust and foolish acts, which always have misery and desolation in their train, it was foolish, I thought, to expect any good result. I told each and every friend of mine that the army would soon perish and that the city of Sirhind would be ruined and devastated." The prophecy of Tahmas Khan soon turned out to be true.[7]

After the sack of Morinda, the Sikhs marched upon Sirhind. They were only looking for an opportunity to avenge themselves on Zain Khan for the great carnage of

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5. *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 160.

According to *Tazkirah-i-Khandan-i-Phulkian*, 16, the Patiala contingent was led by Sardar Himmat Singh, the grandson of Sardar Ala Singh. Inayat Ali Khan in his *Description of the Principal Kotla Afghans*, 19-20, says that after his defeat, Bhikhan Khan was returning to Malerkotla "when he was shot dead from behind, by a villager, while drinking water at a well on the way."

6. Ratan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 467-72· Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash*, 832-33.

7. *Tahmas Namah*, 113b-114a.

February 5, 1762. At this time both the *Dals*, the Buddha as well as the Taruna, were united. Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia, Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh Bhangi and Tara Singh Ghaiba of Rahon had also arrived. Ala Singh of Patiala also joined them with his contingents under the command of Himmat Singh and Chain Singh. Zain Khan, on the other hand, was feeling helpless. He could expect no help from any quarter. His master, Ahmad Shah Durrani, was far away in Afghanistan. Sa'adat Khan of Jullundur was terror-stricken. Kabuli Mall of Lahore had no strong army. Jahan Khan had fled away defeated. His own captains, Murtaza Khan Baraich and Qasim Khan, had left him in disgust.[8]

Zain Khan was out on his village-plundering and revenue-collceting expedition when the Sikhs arrived in the neighbourhood of Sirhind. On receipt of this information, he returned towards the city But his path was blocked near Budlada on the evening of the 13th of January, 1764. In his effort to give the Sikhs the slip on the following morning January 14 (the 4th of Magh, 1820 BK.), he was surrounded near the village of Manhera, about seven miles to the east of Sirhind, by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and was killed in the battle. With his fall, his troops took to flight. The infuriated Sikhs then rushed into the city and subjected it to an indiscriminate plunder. Most of the buildings were razed to the ground and levelled with the earth. To fulfil a prophecy ascribed to Guru Gobind Singh, a number of donkeys were sent for and the leading Sardars ploughed up some of the places with their own hands. The booty that fell into the hands of the Sikhs was immense. Above everything else, the entire province of Sirhind, about 220 miles in length and 160 miles in width, extending from the Sutlej in the north to the districts of Karnal and Rohtak in the south, and from the boundary of the Bahawalpur State on the west to the Jamuna in the east, lay prostrate at their feet.[9]

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8. *Ibrat Namah*, 271; *Tahmas Namah*, 119a; also Gian Singh and Ratan Singh.

9. *Tahmas Namah*, 119a; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 271; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 161, ii. 11; *Tazkirah-i-Khandan-i-Phulkian*, 17; Ratan

The victorious Sikhs then hastily parcelled out the country among themselves. "Tradition still describes," wrote Joseph D. Cunningham in 1848, "how the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was won, and how, riding by day and night, each horseman would throw his belt and scabbard, his articles of dress and accoutrement, until he was almost naked, into successive villages, to mark them as his." But nobody would accept the city of Sirhind on account of its 'evil' associations. The leading residents of the city were then invited to choose their own master. They declared in favour of Bhai Buddha Singh and thus was it assigned to the Bhai with a religious prayer. It was, however, later on, purchased by Ala Singh for a sum of twenty-five thousand rupees.[10]

THE SIKHS IN THE JAMUNA-GANGETIC DOAB

It did not take the Sikhs more than a month to occupy the country. Their work was very much facilitated by the voluntary submission of a large number of villages, which had only recently suffered at the hands of Zain Khan and now sought the protection of the new conquerors to save themselves from further devastation. While the Taruna Dal returned to the north of the Sutlej, the Buddha Dal, swept on by the impulse of victory, crossed the Jamuna at Buriya and poured into the Jamuna-Gangetic Doab. They ransacked Saharanpur on the 20th of February, 1764, and then pushed on to Shamli and Kandhla. Najib-ud-Daulah, exhausted by his campaign against Suraj Mall Jat of Bharatpur (killed, December 25, 1763), did not find himself strong enough to meet the Sikhs in the open field, paid them eleven lakhs of rupees and induced them to return to their country by the end of February.[11]

Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash,* 498-502, 505-07, Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash,* 841-850; Cunningham, 109-110; Bute Shah, *Tarikh-i-Panjab,* 522, 584; *Muqadama-i-Chaharmian; Tawarikh Kapurthala,* 202; Purser, *Jullundur Settlement Report,* 33.

10. Ratan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash,* 506-07, *Muqadama-i-Chaharmian,* C 4-8, 16, 20; Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs* (1849), 110; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab,* 86; *History of the Sikhs* (London, 1846), i. 221.

11. SPD. xxix. 55; Nur-ud-Din, *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 72a; *Tahmas Namah,* 119a; Williams, *The Sikhs in the Upper Doab, Cal. Rev.* Vol 50 (1875), p. 26; Sarkar, ii. 493.

THE JULLUNDUR DOAB FELL TO THE SIKHS

On the arrival of the Taruna Dal in the Jullundur Doab, its Afghan governor, Sa'dat Khan, quietly left his territory and fled away. Thus fell this Doab also completely into the hands of the Sikhs who partitioned it among themselves.[12]

THE SIKHS AT LAHORE

They next marched upon Lahore and surrounded it in February, 1764. Khwaja Ubaid Khan, who had arrived from Kalanaur, was killed in a battle. Some time before this thirty cows had been publicly slaughtered in the city. The Sikhs demanded of Kabuli Mall, the governor, to hang all those butchers who maintained slaughter-houses for bullocks and cows, and to prohibit the killing of this useful animal. Kabuli Mall represented that he was the servant of a Muslim king (*badshah-i-dindar*) and that the prohibition of cow-killing might bring upon him his wrath. However, to appease the Sikhs and to save the city of Lahore from their hands, he secured the consent of some of the leading citizens and cut off the hands and noses of two or three butchers. He also agreed to pay a large tribute to the Sikhs, and to keep in Lahore a *Vakil* of Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi, Tek Chand by name, and to pay him ten rupees a day.[13] This was the beginning of the Sikh control in the capital of Lahore.

The Afghan dominion in the Panjab to the east of the Chenab was thus reduced to a nominal government, virtually confined to the city and fort of Lahore. The country all around was taken possession of by the Sikhs. And whatever little control the Shah's representatives had between the Chenab and the Jhelum in the north-west, and in the direction of Multan in the south-west was brought to an end by Sardar Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia and the Bhangi Sardars in the summer of 1764.

SARBULAND KHAN DEFEATED, CAPTURED AND RELEASED BY CHARHAT SINGH

Early in summer, Sardar Charhat Singh, accompanied by Sardar Gujjar Singh Bhangi, issued forth in the north-

12. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs* (1739-68), 199.

13 Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 273-74; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, 87, Gian Singh, *Shamsher Khalsa*, 162; Sarkar, ii. 494.

westerly direction to attack Sarbuland Khan, the Afghan *faujdar* of Rohtas. In the absence of these Sardars, Sarbuland Khan had crossed the Jhelum, taken possession of Gujrat and put to death Chaudhri Rahmat Khan and Diwan Shiv Nath for their supposed friendly disposition towards the Sikhs. The two Sardars crossed the Chenab into the Chaj Doab, overpowered the Afghan resistance and then pushed forward beyond the Jhelum. Sarbuland Khan moved out to oppose the Sikhs, but was forced back to seek shelter in his fort. The Sikh Sardars laid siege to Rohtas. It held out for four months without any prospect of its early reduction. Charhat Singh then pretended to raise the siege and move away. Sarbuland Khan came out to pursue the Sikhs and fell into their trap. All of a sudden, Charhat Singh turned back and rushed upon the fort and took it unawares. Sarbuland Khan fell into his hands and was made a captive. He was, however, treated with the respect due to his position, both as a highly placed Afghan official and as an uncle of Ahmad Shah. He was so pleased with the kindness he received at the hands of the Sardar, that he offered to serve under him as a governor if Charhat Singh were to proclaim himself king. "The kingship is already bestowed on us by the Guru," said Charhat Singh, "we want to keep you as a prisoner so that the world may know that Charhat Singh has captured the uncle of the Shah". "But there is a still greater name in releasing me," said Sarbuland Khan. "They will say," he continued, "that Charhat Singh captured the uncle of Ahmad Shah and then set him at liberty." The Khan then paid two lakhs of rupees to the Sardar, who allowed him to return to his country.[14]

This victory of the Sikhs placed the entire country between the Jhelum and the Indus at their disposal and a

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14. *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, II. 11-12, Ganesh Das, *Chahar Gulshan-i-Panjab*, 178-79; Ratan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 496-98.

According to the *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, followed by Gupta, Sarbuland Khan was returning from Kashmir under the order of the Shah. But according to other authorities, confirmed by the histories of Kashmir, Nur-ud-Din Bamezei was the governor of that province in 1764, and Sarbuland Khan had not yet been sent there Cf. Kirpa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, 234; *Gulab Namah*.

greater part of it was immediately taken possession of by Sardar Charhat Singh and his Bhangi allies.

SIKH POWER EXTENDED TO MULTAN AND THE DERAS

While Charhat Singh and Gujjar Singh were busy in the north-west, Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi and his sons, Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh, and the Nakai Sardar, Hira Singh, marched to the south-west for over two hundred and fifty miles, crossing the Indus and penetrating into the Deras. As Qazi Nur Muhammad tells us in his *Jang Namah,* "These accursed infidels of the Sikhs had spread themselves from Lahore to the Dera, and had razed the Muslim mosques to the ground, ... had overpowered the Muslims and overrun the territories of Multan."[15]

JIHAD AGAINST THE SIKHS

Hearing of the Sikh risings in the provinces of Lahore and Multan, of the loss of Sirhind and Jullundur Doab and of the failures of Sardar Jahan Khan and Sarbuland Khan in suppressing them, Ahmad Shah made up his mind to march into the Panjab. He called upon his Baluch ally, Amir Naseer Khan, to join him in that crusade against the Sikhs. "I have heard from Multan and also from the Dera," wrote the Shah to Naseer Khan, "that the accursed dogs and lustful infidels [as he called the Sikhs] have overcome the Muslims and overrun the territories of Multan. They have destroyed mosques and carried away the Muslims as prisoners. How can you think of going to Mecca while this depraved sect is causing havoc ? You should march from that (Kalat) side while I am moving from this, so that we may destroy these people root and branch. *Jihad* (holy war) on these idolators, you may rest assured, is more meritorious than *Hajj* . . . You are like a son to me and a brother in faith. Come, so that we may destroy this faithless sect, and enslave their women and children" Naseer Khan, in the meantime, had already received intelligence of the Sikh inroads into Multan and the Deras, had secured the *fatwa* of the *Ulema* (decision of the men learned in Islamic theology) for a *Jihad* and had

15. *Jang Namah,* 38, 40.

referred the matter to the Shah for his permission. He was only waiting for His Majesty's sanction, when his orders for a march to the Panjab were received at Kalat.[16]

THE SHAH MARCHED TO INDIA

The Shah moved from Afghanistan with a strong force of eighteen thousand men in the month of October, 1764, and sent despatch-riders from the way to Mir Naseer Khan, desiring him to hasten to his presence. The Shah was encamped at Eminabad when the Baluch chief joined him at the head of twelve thousand Baluchis. Crossing the river Ravi, the Shah arrived at Lahore. Here Jahan Khan complained against the conduct of Kabuli Mall and accused him of complicity with the Sikhs, but, on enquiry, he was found to be innocent. On the recommendation of Qazi Idris, the butcher affair was dismissed as a piece of timely diplomacy in the interest of the state. Kabuli Mall was confirmed in the government of Lahore and his sister's son, Amir Singh, was appointed the *bakhshi* of the army. Leaving Amir Singh and his own son-in-law, Jagan Nath, in Lahore, Kabuli Mall joined the camp of the Shah and remained with him throughout the campaign.

COUNCIL OF WAR

As he was marching from the north-west, the Sikh Sardars had quietly left their places on the Grand Trunk road and vanished out of his sight. Finding no enemy to fight at Lahore, the Shah summoned a council of war and enquired of his chiefs the best method of annihilating the Sikhs. When all other officers had expressed their opinions, they pointed out to Mir Naseer Khan to reply to the question of the Shah. The Khan respectfully submitted, "We are ready to obey whatever orders the Shah issues. Wherever we are desired to march, we are prepared to go and destroy the enemy. Even if there were a mountain of iron, we shall break it to pieces; the resistance of faithless Sikhs, who dare not stand against us in an open battle, is out of the question. They come stealthily like thieves and attack like wolves from

16. *Jang Namah*, 40, 44.

ambush. If they were to come in regular formation, they would find themselves in black hell. They run away from before the royal armies and fight by tricks. The *lashkar* of the *Ghazis* should move against them and throw them into confusion by a sudden attack. We should destroy them root and branch, extirpate them entirely, and their women and children should be captured and made prisoners." "Bravo! well said," exclaimed the Shah, "but the fire-worshippers have gone far away from us. They are hiding in the Lakhi Jungle at a distance of one hundred and fifty miles from here. There is no water and no fodder in that place, and I fear that the whole army may not be destroyed there. As soon as we get near that jungle, we should fall upon them all at once and thus destroy them wholesale."[17] This was agreed upon and the chiefs returned to their places to make the necessary preparations.

A BATTLE NEAR LAHORE

Early in the following morning, when all the celebrated Afghan leaders were as usual standing in the presence of the Shah, a horseman came running from the advance guard with a message that "an innumerable *lashkar* of the dogs [Sikhs] had arrived and worsted the *Ghazis* of the advance guard, and if the Shah did not come immediately to their help, there would be utter confusion". Under the orders of the Shah, armies from all sides rushed to the scene of action. Naseer Khan also shot forth with the ambition of the holy war in his heart

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17. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 275-76; *Jang Namah*, 77-79. The words like idol-worshippers and fire-worshippers used for the Sikhs are not to be taken literally. They are only used as terms of contempt. In fact, the Sikhs are neither idol-worshippers nor fire-worshippers. They are pure monotheists, believing in One, Formless, Self-existent and All-pervading God, as the opening verse of their scripture, *Guru Granth Sahib*, tells us.

The Sikhs were not then hiding in the Lakhi Jungle. Fifteen thousand of them had gone to help the Jat Raja, Jawahir Singh, son of Suraj Mall, against Najib-ud-Daulah. See Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, 174-76; Sarkar ii, 464; Nur-ud-Din, *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, 82a-85a.

The Sikhs were led by Sardar Charhat Singh and had taken the Afghan advance guard, commanded by Sardar Gahram Khan Magasi and Ahmad Khan Balidi, by surprise. The attack was so furious that Ahmad Khan and his son were killed in the first brush. Mir Abdul Nabi Reisani and Mir Naseer Khan rushed to the help of their comrades. In the melee, Naseer Khan's horse was killed by a Sikh shot and he fell to the ground. Two of the Khan's brave servants, Muhammad Husain and Mir Mangah, at this time came to his rescue. They shot the Sikh and his horse dead and saved the life of Naseer Khan. The names of Mazhar Muhammad, Ghulam Husain Bangalzei, Bahadur Sasuli, Mir Barfi, Fatuhi Darogha and Mulla Dar are mentioned for their bravery during this first battle with the Sikhs. It was a bitter contest and came to a close only by nightfall. The Sikhs followed their usual tactics of firing from a distance and then retiring to reload their muskets while another body of theirs attacked from the other side and disappeared in the same manner. "What a pity," writes Nur Muhammad who was himself present in the battle, "that the *Ghazis* became martyrs at the hands of the *kafirs* from a distance! Had there been a hand-to-hand fight, the world would have seen some fun." When Mir Naseer Khan went to see the Shah, he congratulated him for his bravery and warned him, at the same time, against the danger in rushing alone upon the enemy and risking his life.[18]

THE SHAH AT AMRITSAR

It was then reported to the Shah that the Sikhs had moved away in the direction of Amritsar, called Chak Guru, about 32 miles to the east of Lahore. The Shah had already demolished its edifices a number of times, and they had every time been rebuilt by the Sikhs. Determined to destroy them once again, he marched upon Amritsar with a light army and reached there on the fourth night. But the Sikhs were not to be seen there. Only thirty of them, says Qazi Nur Muhammad, were there in an enclosure (the Bunga of the Akal Takht). As soon as the grand army of the Shah

18. *Jang Namah*, 80-97.

entered the Sikh temple on the 1st of December, 1764, these thirty warriors of the *jatha* of Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh Shahid fearlessly rushed out to grapple with as many thousands of the Afghans and Baluchis. "They had neither the fear of slaughter nor the dread of death," says the Qazi. "They grappled with the *ghazis*, spilt their own blood,—and sacrificed their lives for the Guru." The Shah then sent out scouts in search of the enemy, but they came back unsuccessful. There was no trace of the Sikhs in the neighbourhood of Amritsar. He, therefore, returned to Lahore.[19]

As the Shah could not get at the main body of the Sikhs to fight a pitched battle with them, he called his chiefs to a conference and said, "What plan shall we adopt for the destruction of the accursed Sikhs? Wherever we go, we find them missing....These dogs have no fixed place for themselves." As Najib-ud-Daulah was then being harassed by Raja Jawahir Singh, son of Suraj Mall of Bharatpur, with the help of fifteen thousand Sikhs, it was suggested by Mir Naseer Khan that the Afghan army should march in the direction of Sirhind, destroy the Sikhs on the way and halt there for news about Najib-ud-Daulah.[20]

SHAH'S MARCH THROUGH THE JULLUNDUR DOAB

The Shah ordered his army to move to Sirhind through the Jullundur Doab. As it was the country of the hostile enemy, the crusaders were given the fullest liberty to plunder it. They travelled by easy marches of about four miles a day and arrived at Batala, fifty-six miles to the north-east, in fifteen days. The entire country was ransacked. "Whichever side the army moved, the people were massacred in broad daylight. There was no distinction between the Sikhs and non-Sikhs. The people ran away and hid themselves wherever they could....Nobody remembered the innumerable things that fell into the hands of the crusaders. Whether men or beasts, they fed upon nothing but sugar-candy and sugar-cane. The stomachs of all, big and small, slaves and slave-girls, were filled with these four

19 *Jang Namah*, 97-100; Eng. Trans, 35, footnote No. 2,
20. *Jang Namah*, 101-02,

things—flesh of cows, sugar-cane, sugar-candy and seasame." Sacking and plundering villages and towns in this manner, the army crossed the Beas and entered the present district of Hoshiarpur.[21]

All of a sudden, one day, the Sikhs appeared in front of the Afghan army and blocked the path of the advance guard, commanded by Sardar Jahan Khan. As the Afghan commander had fought against them on several occasions and knew their tricks and tactics, he stuck to the place where he stood, waiting for reinforcements. The Sikhs came running into the field and created a havoc. They had muskets and smouldering wicks ready in their hands and they rushed sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left. On the arrival of the main army under the command of Naseer Khan, they adopted their usual tactics and quietly disappeared. The Khan pursued them for six miles to a devastated village. The night was coming on, and, as none of them was to be seen there, Naseer Khan returned to the camp. They again appeared on the bank of the Sutlej, when the Afghans were crossing that river, but they could not lay their hands on anything.[22]

SHAH DECIDED TO RETURN HOME

The idea of going to Sirhind or pursuing the Sikhs was given up and the Shah made straight for Kunjpura, evidently, with a view to helping Najib-ud-Daulah in his struggle against the Jats and the Sikhs. But, in the meantime, by the middle of February, 1765, peace had been concluded between the Ruhila and the Jat. There was then no purpose in moving further southwards. Mir Naseer Khan counselled him to move on to Delhi, spend the summer and rainy months there and settle the affairs of Shah Alam II. And, as they had not been able to get at the Sikhs for a pitched battle and a decisive victory, it was further suggested that, at the Mughal capital, the Shah should develop friendly relations with the various Indian nobles and chiefs and secure their help for a successful campaign against them. "When

21. *Jang Namah*, 103-04.
22. *Jang Namah*, 104-11.

everything else is settled," said Naseer Khan, "you should bring together all the armies of Najib, Shuja and the chiefs of Delhi and of the Jats and the Marathas, and then fall upon the heads of the dogs [Sikhs] and destroy them root and branch, because the hare of a country can only be caught by a dog of that very country." But the Durranis disagreed with Naseer Khan. They had before them the bitter experience of the early months of 1757, when hundreds of their countrymen had been swept away by the epidemic of cholera, and of the rainy season of 1760, when they had been rendered helpless by torrential showers and flooded rivers. "Our opinion is," said the Durrani Khans, "that at this time we should return to our own country where we will be more comfortable and happy. Otherwise, during the four months of rainy season, many of our horses and camels will perish. In Delhi there is neither grain nor grass. The property of the *lashkar* will all be looted away, and, in the heat of Hindustan, we will be afflicted with pain and calamity. When we have spent these four months at Kabul, you may mobilize the armies again." The Shah also agreed with the Durranis; and, much against the will of Mir Naseer Khan, the idea of going to Delhi was dropped and the bugle of retreat was sounded. Another thing that might have influenced the decision of the Shah was the return of fifteen thousand Sikhs, who had been freed from the Jat-Ruhila campaign and were then marching to their country.[23]

SARDAR ALA SINGH OF PATIALA CONFIRMED IN THE GOVERNMENT OF SIRHIND

In three or four days the Shah arrived at Sirhind. "The whole city lay in ruins," says Qazi Nur Muhammad, "no man, not even a bird, except the owl, was to be seen there, though I roamed about a great deal in the city. The shops and bazaars were there, but the shopkeepers had left for the world beyond." Sirhind was then in the territory of Sardar Ala Singh of Patiala, with the country around it in possession of the Sikhs. The Shah decided to leave it to them and confirm Ala Singh in its government. He could see that no

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23 *Jang Namah*, 119-22 (42-44); Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, 177-78; Sarkar, ii. 389-91; 466-68.

governor other than a Sikh could then hold it, and Ala Singh was considered to be the best man to be thus honoured. He was a great *zamindar,* an important ruling chief and the commander of a large army. The Shah, therefore, summoned him to his presence and treated him with respect. He granted him the title of *Raja,* with the robes of honour, and bestowed upon him a drum and a banner, *tabl-o-alam,* as insignia of royalty. In reply to a question, Ala Singh informed the Shah that the city of Sirhind had been destroyed by the Sikhs. They would not withdraw from fighting, said he, because men from all directions came into their fold and added to their numbers. "If the Shah remits one year's revenue of Sirhind in my favour, I will make it more populous than before in a short time," submitted the chief of Patiala.[24]

If some other chiefs of the Sikhs had also similarly submitted to the Shah, he would have been glad to recognize them as rulers in the Panjab and end the incessant struggle with them. "To say nothing of the *zamindars* of the country, who had fled away on the arrival of the Shah," says Qazi Nur Muhammad, "even the Sikhs could be forgiven by the Shah if they undertook to be obedient to him." But they were made of a different mettle. Seasoned into unbending warriors during the last six decades of continuous struggle and sacrifices and having tasted of independence won by the prowess of their arms, they could not be persuaded to submit to a foreigner, much less to one who had slaughtered so many of their brethren in the Ghalu-ghara and had demolished and desecrated the holiest of their temples. Moreover, they were then practically masters of the country, which the Shah visited only temporarily. They preferred, therefore, to continue the struggle for a more complete freedom rather than submit for a meaningless honour.[25]

SHAH HARASSED BY THE SIKHS

On promising to pay an annual tribute of three lakhs and a half, Raja Ala Singh was allowed to depart, and the

24. *Jang Namah,* 125-28; *Risalah-i-Nanak Shah,* 135b; *Tarikh-i-Patiala,* 62; Karam Singh, *Ala Singh,* 241.

25. *Jang Namah,* 127; Karam Singh, *Ala Singh,* 240-41.

Shah moved homewards. He crossed the Sutlej, at the ferry of Ropar, and entered the Jullundur Doab. On the following morning when the Afghans had hardly gone about a mile, a large force of the Sikhs came upon them and blocked their passage. Hearing of it, the Shah smiled within his lips and said, "What! during my own reign the royal palanquin is trembling at the hands of the Sikhs. When my own army is sluggish in the holy war, it is but proper that the Sikhs should come rushing upon them. What shall the world say to me when in every part of the country the infidel Sikhs are rushing upon my army." He then called Naseer Khan to his presence and ordered him to get ready for the fight. With himself in the centre, he placed Shah Wali Khan, Jahan Khan and Anzala Khan at the head of twelve thousand men on the right, and Naseer Khan and his twelve thousand Baluchis on the left.[26]

The Sikhs, on the other side, had also arranged themselves in battle array. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, accompanied by Jassa Singh Thoka (Ramgarhia) and some other Sardars, commanded the centre. The right was led by Sardar Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia, Jhanda Singh and Lahna Singh Bhangi and Jai Singh Kanhaiya; the left was under the command of Hari Singh, the lame, Ram Das, Gulab Singh and Gujjar Singh of the Bhangi Misal. Following the usual tactics, Charhat Singh kept on firing from a distance, while the Bhangis under Hari Singh rushed upon Shah Wali Khan and Jahan Khan, retired to draw the Afghans in their pursuit and then turned back to fall upon them. When the right was thus being pressed hard by the Sikhs, the Shah called Naseer Khan from the left and warned him against this trick. "Look here, you young man," said the Shah, "you are a lion amongst men in the field, but do not be hasty in a battle with the Sikhs. Stand like a mountain where you are in the field and let the enemy come to you and expose their chests to your arrows. The Sikhs are headstrong and

26. *Tarikh-i-Patiala,* 62; Karam Singh, *Ala Singh,* 241; *Jang Namah,* 129-34 According to the first two authorities, Ala Singh paid two hundred and eighty thousand rupees in cash, and remitted the balance of seventy thousand later on.

flare up like fire in the battle-field. Even their forefathers behaved in the same manner and, single-handed, pounced upon the armies of their enemies. I, therefore, advise you not to move from where you are." But in spite of this warning, the reckless warrior of Baluchistan rushed upon the Sikhs and had to be called away by the Shah lest he should fall into their trap. While the Baluchis had left their positions in pursuit of the Sikhs, another body of the Sikhs rushed in to take their places quickly and got in between the Shah and Naseer Khan and cut off one from the other. The Sikhs then threw a cordon around the retreating Baluchis. The two armies once again grappled with each other and a bloody battle ensued, coming to a close with the darkness of the night.[27]

With the rising of the sun the next morning, the Sikhs again fell upon the Afghans and harassed them as usual. That day they had reversed the order of their army formation. They came running into the Shah's army and came to grips with them. Immediately the Shah ordered a halt, planted the standards and desired the Baluch chief not to move even a step forward without his orders. Similar orders were issued to the whole army. The Shah waited for some time and then ordered an attack. The Sikhs at once resorted to a tactical flight and were pursued by the Afghans for three miles. When they had gone out of sight, the Afghans retired to their camp. But the Sikhs suddenly wheeled round and came upon them, and, scattering themselves, attacked them on all sides. "Keep yourself riveted to the spot like the mount Qaf," shouted the Shah to Naseer Khan, "and when you see the enemy actually approaching, then alone pounce upon his head. I have advised all the ghazis in the same way." With the coming of the evening the Sikhs, as usual, suddenly disappeared.[28]

In this manner for seven days, the Sikhs daily rushed upon the Afghans while they were passing through the Jullundur Doab, attacked them in the morning, fought on throughout the day and slipped away at night. "Without

27. *Jang Namah*, 134-44.
28. *Jang Namah*, 161-64.

any shame or modesty," says Qazi Nur Muhammad, "they would come again and again and retire with the same frequency." But these were their tactics, as the Qazi so often tells us in the *Jang Namah*. "If their armies take to flight," says he, "do not take it as an actual flight. It is a war tactics of theirs. Beware, beware of them for the second time." The last battle with the Sikhs was fought on the bank of the Beas, when they finally retired, as if to prepare for their attack on Lahore when the Shah had left the country.[29]

ON THE BANK OF THE CHENAB

The Shah does not seem to have stopped at Lahore. He crossed the Ravi undisturbed and marched to the bank of the Chenab. Here he had a heavy toll to pay. When the Shah sent out his men in search of a ford, somebody came in and said that it was easier to ford the river at the foot of the hill where the river was divided into eight streams. The army moved to that point and crossed six of them. The remaining two were very deep, swift and violent, and were overflowing. When the army and the baggage entered into these streams, the strong currents began their work of destruction and carried away thousands of laden camels and saddled horses, and innumerable donkeys, bullocks, buffaloes, tents, treasure and men and women. "It appeared," says Qazi Nur Muhammad, who had himself to struggle hard against the currents, "as if the Day of Judgment had come." After describing at great length the horrors and havoc of the flood, the Qazi thus continues his account: "I was then riding a horse and moving in a line. On my upper (right) side were thousands of camels carrying women. With the camels the women were dropping in the stormy water and were being carried away by its currents. Accidently at that time a beautiful woman with charming features fell down from a camel in front of me on the saddle of my horse. From head to waist she was on my saddle while her feet were dangling in the water. My own life was in danger. I made every effort to throw her away. But she caught hold of my waist with

29 *Jang Namah*, 165-68.

both hands and I could not extricate myself from her clutches. At last, her guardian arrived and I was freed from her hold. Such was the confusion on that day that nobody cared for anybody; fathers forsook their sons and mothers threw their children into the water. There was a great loss of life and property. I may assure you that so many lives had not been lost in the battles with the Sikhs."[30]

After crossing the Chenab, the Shah moved by slow marches of two or three *farsangs* a day and deputed Jahan Khan to go ahead and arrange for a bridge on the Jhelum. From the bank of the Jhelum, Kabuli Mall was permitted to return to his government at Lahore. There the Shah one day sent for his brave ally, Mir Naseer Khan of Kalat, thanked him for the services rendered by him during the campaign, and permitted him to leave for his country. Naseer Khan submitted some demands which were all granted, including the territory of Shal (Quetta). The Shah desired to give him the territories of Chenab, Jhang, Multan and the Deras, but neither Mir Naseer Khan nor any other Baluchi chief accepted them, apparently for fear of their inability to hold them against the rising power of the Sikhs.[31]

SHAH RETURNED TO AFGHANISTAN

The river Jhelum was crossed on a bridge of boats, and, on the arrival of the imperial camp at Rohtas, Mir Naseer Khan and his Baluchi companions took their leave of the Shah and left for their country, while the Shah marched on to Afghanistan.[32]

30. *Jang Namah,* 168-72.

31. *Jang Namah,* 172-75; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 276; Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan,* 80-81.

32. *Jang Namah,* 175-76.

Chapter XXIII

THE EIGHTH INVASION OF INDIA

THE LOSS OF THE PANJAB

During the years 1765 and 1766, the Shah was busy with administrative and other affairs at home and could not find time to attend to the Panjab. The Sikhs had, in the meantime, completely established themselves in their country. No sooner did the Shah leave the Panjab at the end of March 1765 than they returned to their possessions

THE SIKHS OCCUPIED LAHORE

The Sikhs celebrated their Baisakhi festival at Amritsar on the 10th of April and there decided, by a *Gurmata,* to take possession of Lahore. Kabuli Mall, the governor, was then at Jammu, recruiting two thousand Dogra musketeers for service in Lahore. Sardar Lehna Singh and Gujjar Singh Bhangi moved from Rangarh-Waniyeke at the head of two thousand Sikhs and, with the assistance of some residents of the village of Baghbanpura,[1] who were employed in the fort, entered it through an opening and established themselves there on the night of Baisakh *Vadi* 11, 1822 Bk., April 16, 1765. Amir Singh, the nephew of Kabuli Mall, issued out of his mansion the next morning and fired a few shots from a gun mounted on the city wall. Tara Singh of Muzang rushed out with a band of only twenty-five men, dispersed the half-hearted followers of the *Bakhshi* of Lahore forces and captured him along with Jagan Nath, son-in-law of Kabuli Mall. Sobha Singh Kanhaiya also joined the Bhangi Sardars, and they divided among themselves the city and its neighbour-

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1. Principal Sita Ram Kohli, in one of his notes, observes:
The Mian family of Baghbanpura later helped Maharaja Ranjit Singh against the Bhangi Sardars in the occupation of Lahore. It was this very family of Mian Muhammad Shafi and Mian Shah Din and Begam Shah Niwaz of the Muslim League fame who later helped the British in establishing their rule in Lahore.

hood. Thus passed the capital of the Panjab into the hands of the Sikhs.[2]

The Sikhs looked upon this achievement as the gift of their Guru and issued their coin in the names of Gurus Nanak-Govind Singh with the following inscription borrowed from the seal of their first ruling chief, Banda Singh (1710-16):

دیگ و تیغ و فتح و نصرت بیدرنگ
یافت از نانک گورو گوبند سنگھ

Deg-o-Tegh-o-Fateh-o-Nusrat-i-bedirang
Yaft az Nanak Guru Govind Singh

The Kettle and the Sword—the Symbols of Service and Power—Victory and ready Patronage have been obtained from Gurus Nanak-Govind Singh[3]

EXPEDITION AGAINST PATIALA—DEATH OF ALA SINGH

The submission of Ala Singh to the inveterate enemy of the Sikhs, as they considered the Shah to be, was taken as a national disgrace by the Sikhs who led an expeditionary force against him under the command of Hari Singh Bhangi. A skirmish took place near the villages of Lang and Chilaile, about eight miles to the north of Patiala, and Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi was killed in the very beginning. Compromise was, however, soon effected through the intervention of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the Patiala chief made up with his brothers-in-faith. Not long afterwards Baba Ala Singh died on Bhadon Vadi 6, 1822 Bk., August 7, 1765, and was succeeded by his grandson, Amar Singh.[4]

Undisturbed by the Shah in the Sirhind province and unaffected in the Panjab, the Sikhs carried their arms in all directions and established their rule. They even penetrated into the Jamuna-Gangetic Doab, ransacked the territories of Najib-ud-Daulah and measured swords with the Marathas on behalf of Jawahir Singh of Bharatpur.

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2. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 276-77; *Umda-tu-Twarikh*, i. 163.
3. Ganesh Das, *Chahar Gulshan-i-Panjab*, 177-78.
4. *Tarikh-i-Patiala*, 57-59; Karam Singh, *Ala Singh*, 246-47.

EIGHTH INVASION OF INDIA BY THE SHAH

Ahmad Shah descended upon the Panjab for the eighth time in November, 1766, "for," to quote Shah Wali Khan's words, "the extirpation of the ill-fated Sikhs." There are also reasons to believe that the Shah had been invited to India by Mir Qasim of Bengal to restore him to the throne of Murshidabad of which he had been deprived by the English.[5]

The Shah crossed the Indus in the last days of November and arrived unopposed at Behgy, about ten *kos* from Rohtas. Ballam Singh and some other Sikhs had thrown up a number of strongholds in the country with garrisons of seven or eight thousand horse, but in the absence of a common command and unanimity in their counsels, they were easily overpowered by the Afghans. A Sikh chief was slain and a great number of their army were killed, taken prisoners and drowned in the Jhelum. The Sikhs made another attempt to block the passage of the Shah's army but they were pushed back.[6]

Crossing the Jhelum, the Shah arrived at Gujrat on the 4th of December. He then crossed the Chenab by the bridge of Shah Daula, entered the Bari Doab, and made for Sialkot. On the 10th, he left that city and encamped at Jhangi (Jamke), about eleven miles to the south-west. He halted there for three days and granted interviews to the *Zamindars* of Aurangabad, Pasrur, Gujrat and Sialkot. As a number of Sikhs were said to have been concealed in the neighbouring villages, the Shah's chamberlain, Sa'adat Khan, suggested a tribute of a lakh and a half of rupees to be levied on the *Zamindars*. They were further ordered to give *muchalakas* (undertakings in writing) 'to apprehend and despoil with every degree of severity all persons carrying the marks of a Sikh'. Accordingly, they undertook not to give protection to the Sikhs and, should a Sikh fall into their hands, to send him to the Shah to undergo punishment.[7]

The Shah left Jamke on the 15th of December and stopped at Daska. There, Pir Muhammad, son of Naurang, came to

5. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, ii. 12a; iii. xvi.
6. CPC. ii 16a.
7. CPC ii. 16a.

pay his respects. The other *Zamindars* fled away out of fear. They were pursued and captured by the troops of the Shah and brought back to his presence. On being questioned by Shah Wali Khan, they submitted that they had no intention of running away. As the troops of Naseer Khan had marched through their defenceless country, they had left it, but since the arrival of the Shah's armies their fear had been dispelled. To remove their apprehensions and of the people around, it was more prudent, suggested Sa'adat Khan, to treat them kindly than to put anyone of them to death; else, no one would come to the Shah's presence in future. The Shah was pleased to accept this advice, levied a sum of only three lakhs of rupees on them and dismissed them with assurances of safety.[8]

THE SHAH AT LAHORE

After two days' halt at Daska, the Shah left for Eminabad. Hearing of the approach of the Shah, the Sikh Sardars, Sobha Singh, Lehna Singh, Gujjar Singh, Hira Singh and Ajaib Singh, who were in the city of Lahore with a body of eight thousand men, abandoned the fort and the city and dispersed in different directions. Gujjar Singh and Lehna Singh retired to Kasur while Sobha Singh, Hira Singh and Ajaib Singh made for Pakpattan (of Baba Farid). The Afghan advance guard under Jahan Khan, Barkhurdar Khan Arzbegi and Darwesh Ali Khan Hazarah, occupied the city. On the 21st of December, the Shah continued his march from Eminabad and arrived at Fazilabad, about eleven miles to the north-west of Lahore. The next day, he crossed the Ravi and encamped at Mahmud Buti, to the north-east of the city.[9]

SARDAR LEHNA SINGH REJECTED THE OFFER OF SUBEHDARI OF LAHORE

At Mahmud Buti a deputation of the leading citizens of Lahore waited upon Ahmad Shah, and submitted that Lehna Singh was a kind-hearted benevolent ruler, that in spite of authority and power he made no distinction between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, and that on the day of Id-u-Zuha, he bestowed turbans on the *Qazis, Muftis* and *Imams*

8. CPC. i 16a.
9. CPC. ii. 16a, 20, 36.

of the Muslim mosques and treated all other people with respect and regard. "If he is such a just and humane ruler, why should he have run away?" said the Shah. He then wrote a letter to Sardar Lehna Singh inviting him to his presence and promising to grant him the *Subehdari* of Lahore. The Sardar sent back the reply through Rahmatullah Beg of the village of Maura that he would have been glad to see him but, as it was not in keeping with the honour of his people, he was helpless. A week later, the Shah appointed Dadan Khan, brother of Maulvi Abdullah, governor of Lahore, with Rahmat Khan Ruhila at the head of 1500 horse and foot, as his deputy.[10]

THE SHAH HARASSED BY THE SIKHS

Leaving his heavy baggage at Lahore, the Shah moved out of his camp at Mahmud Buti on the 29th of December and arrived at Amritsar (Chak Guru) on the 30th. Jahan Khan, who had been sent to this place from the neighbourhood of Lahore on the 27th, was ordered to stay there, while the Shah himself moved out on the 1st of January, 1767, in the direction of Jandiala. From Jandiala the Shah moved to Jalalabad with a view to encamping in the neighbourhood of Vairowal. It had been suggested to him by Said Khan to station the main army there "to form diverse parties in order to pursue the Sikhs and set afoot a general slaughter and dispersion of them," while Jahan Khan sacked them at Amritsar. He had not yet been able to fix his camp, when intelligence arrived that Charhat Singh, Hira Singh and Lehna Singh had fallen upon the Shah's camp at Lahore and had plundered his baggage and that they were marching upon the city. The Shah immediately hurried back to Lahore, but the Sikhs had slipped away beyond his reach. As usual, they avoided a general action, kept on hovering round his army, pounced upon it when an opportunity offered itself and carried away whatever baggage and camp-equipage they could lay their hands upon.[11]

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10 *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 165; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 279-80. According to Khushwaqt Rai (*Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, 81), the name of the deputy was Dawar Khan.

11. CPC. ii. 16a, 20, 36, 65, 108a.

THE SIKHS REFUSED TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH HIM

Thus circumstanced, the Shah was willing to enter into peace negotiations with the Sikh Sardars and, at the suggestion of Shah Wali Khan, Jahan Khan, Shah Pasand Khan, Faiz Talab Khan, Naseer Khan Baluch and other Afghan chiefs, he wrote to Jhanda Singh, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Khushhal Singh and other Sardars on the 15th of January, 1767, from the neighbourhood of Nuruddin Kot 'to the effect that if they were desirous of entering his service, they should come and join him, but that if they had any hostile intentions, they should meet him in the field.' The Raja of Chamba sent a vakil to them, and Saadat Yar Khan of the family of Adina Beg Khan sent them word that they should make peace with the Shah. The latter said that since His Majesty had no intention of dispossessing the Sikhs of their country, he would introduce them to the Shah and settle what country they should cede and what sum they should pay, and that he would put them in possession of Lahore. But the Sikhs refused to entertain any idea of negotiations. They knew that the Shah would soon be compelled to return to his own country and that they would then resume their old possessions.

JAHAN KHAN DEFEATED NEAR AMRITSAR

On the 17th of January, the Sikhs worsted Jahan Khan in the neighbourhood of Amritsar when he issued out of his camp with the Durrani vanguard of about fifteen thousand horse plundering the villages. Jassa Singh, Hira Singh, Lehna Singh and Gujjar Singh fell upon him all of a sudden. Five to six thousand Durranis were killed and wounded, and Jahan Khan was forced to retreat. Hearing of this reverse, the Shah himself marched to his commander's assistance. But the Sikhs at once disappeared in the direction of Lahore. The Shah then ordered the buildings of Amritsar and the neighbouring forts to be demolished, and put three to four thousand Sikhs found there to the sword.[13]

12. CPC. ii. 50, 108a.
13. CPC. ii. 65.

THE ENVOYS OF INDIAN CHIEFS PAID RESPECTS TO SHAH

The Shah then crossed the Beas and entered the Jullundur Doab, where the envoys of the various Indian rulers paid him their respects. The Shah directed them to write to their masters to come personally to his court. The *vakil* of Raja Amar Singh and Kanwar Himmat Singh, grandsons of Raja Ala Singh, also made his obeisance and presented five thousand rupees and two horses as *nazar* to him, and two thousand rupees each to Shah Wali Khan and Jahan Khan. Not long afterwards, the Raja and Kanwar themselves arrived in the Shah's camp at Nur Mahal.[14]

THE SIKHS RENEWED THEIR ACTIVITIES

The Sikhs allowed the Shah no rest even in the Jullundur Doab. While his own army was constantly harried, his baggage was snatched away from the custody of Naseer Khan Baluch. Twenty thousand of the Sikhs fell upon him unawares and inflicted a defeat upon him in a pitched battle. They also waylaid a caravan of three hundred camels laden with fruit and cut the Afghan escort to pieces. The Raja of Chamba had sent grain to the Shah's army, when the Sikhs fell upon the convoy near Talapur, and, having slain the escort, plundered it.[15]

The Shah's position at this time was extremely insecure, and, in the words of a contemporary news-writer, "The Shah's influence is confined merely to those tracts which are covered by his army. The *zamindars* appear in general so well affected towards the Sikhs that it is usual with the latter to repair by night to the villages, where they find every refreshment. By day they retire from them and again fall to harassing the Shah's troops. If the Shah remains between the two rivers Beas and Sutlej, the Sikhs will continue to remain in the neighbourhood, but if he passes over towards Sirhind the Sikhs will then become masters of the parts he leaves behind him."[16]

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14. CPC II 65, 79, 139.
15. CPC. II. 107C, 130A.
16. CPC. II. 161A.

ACTIVITIES OF THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL AGAINST THE SHAH

The Shah crossed the Sutlej in the beginning of March, 1767, and marched southward in the direction of Delhi. The Sikhs on the other side immediately 'took possession of Lahore and the country between the two rivers Ravi and Sutlej, and placed their garrisons there.'[17]

On the arrival of the Shah at Ismailabad, twenty miles south of Ambala, Najib-ud-Daulah waited upon him on the 9th of March. The Shah was surprised, rather irritated, to find that not one of the Indian chiefs from beyond Delhi, who had been so loud in their professions of allegiance to him, had come personally to do him homage. It will be interesting to know that owing to the presence of Mir Qasim's envoy in the camp of the Shah, the English in Bengal were feeling much perturbed. 'They feared, and with good reason, that the relations they had established with the Vazir (Shuja-ud-Daulah) and the Emperor (Shah Alam) would be entirely upset if they joined the Shah. They, therefore, asked the Vazir and the Emperor to refrain from waiting upon the Shah or from sending him any money and to oppose him, should he attempt to advance eastward from Delhi. The Ruhilas, the Jats and the Mahrattas were likewise urged to form a league against him and the full support of the Company was assured to them. Ahmad Shah's victory at Panipat, however, had breathed a terror into the hearts of the chiefs of India; in their eyes he was invincible.' They, therefore, wavered for some time. Should they join the Shah or keep away from him? In the meantime, the spell of his invincibility was broken by the stout opposition offered to him by the Sikhs and by the reverses, however small, his troops had suffered at their hands. This brought about a change in their attitude and encouraged them to become more rigid in their conduct.[18]

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17. CPC. ii. 213.

18. *Delhi Chronicle;* CPC. iii. Int xv For a more detailed study of how the English in Bengal stood in the way of closer relations between Emperor Shah Alam and the Shah, see Appendix iv.

REPRESENTATION OF NAJIB-UD-DAULAH

'It is said that the Shah, on several of the *Vakils* representing to him the good consequences of maintaining his situation, flew into a violent rage, (and) declared that he would move immediately to Delhi.' Najib-ud-Daulah, on hearing this, consulted Yaqub Ali Khan and Rao Megh Raj and then went to the Shah and said, "If Your Majesty is resolved to march to Delhi, it is well, but beyond all doubt there will be a general flight of all the inhabitants wherever you pass, and the whole country will become a desert, as already is the case in many parts of it. I have now arrived in Your Majesty's presence and have attained the summit of my wishes, an interview. If Your Majesty actually proceeds (to Delhi), I have one request to make: that you first sacrifice me and then pursue your intentions". The penetrating eye of the Shah at once saw the inadvisability of proceeding further towards Delhi in face of the unfriendly attitude of the Indian chiefs and decided to move back homewards. On the 17th of March, the Shah left Ismailabad, arrived at Ambala on the 18th, and then moved on to Sirhind.[19]

RAJA AMAR SINGH OF PATIALA HONOURED BY THE SHAH

Najib-ud-Daulah paid two lakhs of rupees to the Shah on account of the stipulated amount and the Shah was pleased to grant the governorship of Sirhind to his son, Zabita Khan. Raja Amar Singh, who was the owner of the place, was called upon to pay a sum of nine lakhs which was said to have been due from him since his grandfather's confirmation in the government of that territory in 1765. While in the camp of the Shah, Najib-ud-Daulah once remarked to Amar Singh, "What is this Patiala fort of yours? I will show you how strong is my fort of Pathargarh at Najibabad." Amar Singh took it as a hint that he might be carried as a prisoner to Najibabad. His grandmother, Rani Fatto (Fateh Kaur), widow of Ala Singh, secretly visited the humane Shah Wali Khan and besought his good offices for the release of her grandson from the hold of the Ruhila chief. She also made some presents to him. Shah Wali Khan interceded on behalf of the Patiala

19 CPC. ii 294, *Delhi Chronicle*,

chief, and the next morning the Shah not only granted Amar Singh his freedom, but also the government of Sirhind and the title of *Rajah-i-Rajgan*. In grateful acknowledgment of these favours, Amar Singh struck coins in the name of His Afghan Majesty and added the word 'Bamezei', the name of Shah Wali Khan's tribe, to his own name on his seal.[20]

The Shah arrived near Machhiwara on the left bank of the Sutlej on the 23rd of March Intelligence was received there in the beginning of April that about one hundred and twenty thousand Sikhs had collected for the Baisakhi festival at Amritsar and were equipped for war The Shah wisely decided not to cross the Sutlej immediately and stayed there for about two months, sending out detachments of troops to chastise the Sikhs. As Najib-ud-Daulah had not been keeping good health for some time, he obtained leave of the Shah on the 11th of May and left for his home, leaving his son, Zabita Khan, and other relations in the Shah's camp.[21]

THE SIKHS ATTACKED THE TERRITORY OF NAJIB-UD-DAULAH

Early in May, a body of the Sikhs slipped past the Durrani camp and entered the territory of Najib-ud-Daulah. As he and his brothers and sons, with their troops, were then actively ranged against them, the object of the Sikhs was to detach them from the Shah's camp and to deprive him of the local assistance. They sacked Ambehta and Nanauta and then pushed down to Meerut and Shamli. Hearing of this inroad, the bewildered Najib-ud-Daulah appealed to the Shah for help, and the latter ordered Jahan Khan to march with eight thousand men into the Doab and drive away the Sikhs. With Zabita Khan, son of Najib-ud-Daulah, as his guide, and five thousand Ruhila troops, Jahan Khan hurried to Shamli, covering about 180 miles in three days. The Sikhs got news of his advance four *gharis* beforehand and crossed over to the other side of the Jamuna on the 19th of May. Those who remained behind were put to the sword. A Sikh Sardar was killed in the skirmish and Sardar Baghel Singh Karorsinghia was wounded. Having successfully finished

20. CPC. ii. 310; *Husain Shahi*; 67-68; Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, 164.

21. CPC. ii. 323, 345, 422; *Delhi Chronicle*,

this campaign, Jahan Khan returned to the Shah's camp in the course of seven days.[22]

DISSATISFACTION IN TROOPS—SHAH RETURNED TO AFGHANISTAN

The Afghan troops had been in arrears of pay for some time. A dissatisfied contingent of four to five hundred of them became insubordinate and marched away to Afghanistan via Kasur, Pakpattan and Multan. The unbearable heat of the Panjab was then daily increasing and the rainy season, when the rivers would run in high floods, was fast approaching. It was also feared that the mutineers might spread disaffection at home and that the remaining troops might catch the contagion. The Shah, therefore, returned to his country by way of Multan, evidently, to avoid clashes with the Sikhs.[23]

THE SIKHS REOCCUPIED THE PANJAB

Although two more efforts were made by the Shah to regain his lost position in the Panjab, this may be taken as his last invasion of India, and with it his dominion in the Panjab came to an end. Soon after his return, the Sikhs were once again the masters of the country from the Indus to the Jamuna. Dadan Khan, the nominal Afghan governor of Lahore, quietly surrendered the city and fort to their former masters (the Sikhs) and retired from public life on a pension of twenty rupees a day, while Rahmat Khan Ruhila returned to his own country. The territories of Sirhind, as usual, remained in the possession of Raja Amar Singh and other Sikh chiefs of the Phulkian and other confederacies.[24]

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22 *Tahmas Namah,* 121a-b; Nur-ud-Din, *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* 111-12; Sarkar, ii. 498-99.

23 Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 280.

24 Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah,* 281; Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan,* 81-82.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE LAST CAMPAIGNS TO BALKH AND BUKHARA, THE PANJAB AND KHURASAN

(1768-1770)

EXPEDITION AGAINST BALKH AND BUKHARA

The people of Balkh in the north, and Badakhshan in the north-east, had for some time been creating disturbances; and, in the absence of a clear line of demarcation, there had been occasional disputes with the people of Bukhara. With a view to establishing peace and order in these parts, Ahmad Shah deputed his minister, Shah Wali Khan, with an army of six thousand selected horsemen, in the beginning of 1182 A.H., 1768 A.D. Hearing of the advance of the Afghan minister, Murad Bey, the ruler of Bukhara, moved out with an army to the help of the refractory people of Balkh. Shah Wali Khan informed the Shah about the movements of Murad Bey. His Afghan Majesty immediately issued forth from Qandahar at the head of a large force and marched in the north-westerly direction for Herat. From there he turned to the north-east and, crossing the river Murghab, also called the Rud-i-Marv, re-established his authority in Maimna, Shibarghan, Andkhui and Balkh. He despatched Shah Wali Khan to Badakhshan and himself marched to the north-west in the direction of Bukhara. Murad Bey, on the other side, prepared himself for a contest with the Afghan king and fixed his camp at the village of Qarshi (Karki) on the western bank of the Oxus (Amu Darya), sixty-four miles to the north of Andkhui. Peace negotiations, however, were soon entered into and brought to a successful conclusion by fixing the Amu Darya as the boundary-line between the two countries. It was further agreed that Murad Bey would present to Ahmad Shah the *khirqa* (a patched garment) of Prophet Muhammad, which had for some time been in the possession of Hadhrat Uwais Qarani and was, then, preserved at Bukhara.

The Shah looked upon this relic of the Prophet as a great holy possession and carried it with profound reverence to his capital at Qandahar.[1]

THE LAST INVASION OF INDIA

The Shah made his last expedition upon the Panjab in the beginning of 1769. He crossed the Indus and the Jhelum and reached as far as the left bank of the Chenab and fixed his camp at Jokalian to the north-west of Gujrat, ten miles from Kunjah. By this time the Sikhs had established themselves firmly in the country and it had then become more difficult to dislodge them than ever before. Moreover, dissensions broke out among Shah's followers and he was compelled to return to Afghanistan. On the way between Peshawar and Kabul, a tumult arose in his army; his whole camp was plundered and many of his chiefs and soldiers were either killed or dispersed. From Kabul, the Shah returned to Qandahar.[2]

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST NASRULLAH MIRZA

The Shah's attention was then drawn to the rebellious activities of Nasrullah Mirza, son of Shah Rukh, in Khurasan. Encouraged by the reverses of the Afghan generals in the Panjab and by the failure of the Shah in suppressing the Sikhs, Nasrullah Mirza had also made up his mind to strike a blow for the independence of Mashhad and the allied Persian territories. But he had no strong army at hand. In 1181

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1. *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh*, 27. For a detailed account of the *Khirqa*, see the same authority, p. 27-28.

Ghubar, in his *Ahmad Shah Baba*, makes no mention of the Shah having himself gone to settle the affair with Murad Bey. According to him, the whole affair was managed by Shah Wali Khan. The sacred *Khirqa*, according to him, was also brought to Qandahar by the Wazir from Faizabad in Badakhshan. But he has quoted no authority, contemporary or otherwise, in support of his statements. To me, however, the account of *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh* appears to be more reliable. The author of this work says that the story of the *Khirqa* was related to him by his patron His Majesty Amir Habibullah Khan (p. 27).

2. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat Namah*, 282; *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 165; CPC. ii. 1365, 1499.

and ran back to the city before the Afghans could get at them. In one of these sorties, says Ibn Muhammad Amin, eight hundred of the Afghans were killed.[4]

While the siege of Mashhad was continuing, news arrived that Ali Mardan Khan, accompanied by Nadir Mirza, was coming with reinforcements from Tabbas. Ahmad Shah detached Rasul Khan Qaular-aqasi at the head of four thousand men to meet them, but he was worsted by the Persians near Gunabad and about nine hundred and fifty Afghans were slain. The Shah then sent his famous general, Jahan Khan, and the Baluch warrior, Mir Naseer Khan of Kalat, with eight thousand horse and six thousand foot respectively. On their arrival at Sultanabad, Abdul Ali Khan, the chief of that place, moved to another fort where he was joined the same night by Nadir Mirza and Ali Mardan Khan. Next morning, Ali Mardan Khan led an attack upon the Afghans. But as he came within the range of their muskets, they fired a volley and he was shot dead. The leaderless Persians then took to flight. Mirza Nadir fled to Sultanabad and was there followed by Jahan Khan and Naseer Khan. But he managed to escape to Mashhad.[5]

THE SHAH AT MASHHAD

It was, however, reckoned impious to fire on the sacred city of Mashhad which contained the mausoleum of Imam Raza. Shah Wali Khan had, therefore, opened negotiations with Shah Rukh and Nasrullah Mirza, and, on their successful conclusion, Ahmad Shah entered the city and re-established friendly relations with them. Shah Rukh gave his daughter, Gauhar-Shad, in marriage to Prince Taimur, son of Amad Shah, and promised to furnish a contingent of Persian troops to serve His Afghan Majesty. The marriage was solemnised in the Shah's camp in the city of Mashhad. As a mark of his submission, Mirza Nasrullah, on his own behalf, presented a beautiful white horse, named "Gharib", worth fifteen thousand rupees, to the Shah who was pleased to honour the Mirza with the title of "Farzand Khan". Amad Shah had no

4. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 138-40; *Ahmad Shah Baba*, 292-93.
5. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 140-42.

intention of taking Khurasan under his own direct control. He, therefore, entrusted the country to Shah Rukh to be governed as usual on his behalf. As a guarantee of his good behaviour in future, Shah Rukh handed over one of his sons Yazdan Bakhsh as a hostage. Thus ended the last military expedition of Ahmad Shah and he left for Qandahar on the 8th of Safar, 1184 A.H., June 9, 1770 A.D.[6]

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6. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh,* 143-46; Elphinstone, *Caubul,* 297-98; *Ahmad Shah Baba,* 293-96.

Chapter XXV

THE LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF AHMAD SHAH

THE SHAH'S INABILITY TO INVADE INDIA IN 1771

Mir Qasim, who had been deprived of his dominion of Bengal, had for some time past been trying to organize a league against the English in India. He had been in correspondence with the Sikhs and the Marathas with a view to recruiting their assistance for an invasion of Bengal. But nobody came to his help. His only hope lay in Ahmad Shah. Writing to the Nizam of Hyderabad-Deccan on the 17th of March, 1770, he said that he "saw no friend except Shah Abdali," but "he is involved in his own affairs in Afghanistan."

Similarly, the Ruhilas of India also looked up to him for aid against the Marathas in the beginning of 1771, and they were willing to pay twenty-five lakhs of rupees for his expenses. "The Rohilla Sardars," wrote Mir Ghulam Husain Khan in March, 1771, "have agreed to pay 25 lakhs of rupees to the *Vazir* for assisting them....In case the *Vazir* does not give them assistance, they will pay the amount to Abdali..... There are two ways of rooting out the Marathas. The one is for all the Sardars of Hindustan to unite together (of which at present there is no prospect), and the other is the arrival of Abdali. He has great confidence in Nawab Dunde Khan and will certainly come if the Governor (of Bengal) and Nawab Dunde Khan write to him. If he cannot do so personally, he will send his son Taimur Shah.....One good point about Abdali is that he never remains in Hindustan. He goes back to his country as soon as his affairs are settled." But the Shah was then busy with his own affairs at home and did not find it advisable to undertake an expedition to the far eastern parts of India, or to involve himself in a struggle against the Marathas, in face of such formidable opponents as the Sikhs occupying the territories on his frontier and the intervening country for about four hundred miles.[1] General

1. CPC. iii, 79, 94, 97, 98, 132, 682.

Barker's observations were both historically and prophetically true when he said, in his letter of August 19, 1771, addressed to Sardar Jhanda Singh Bhangi, that "it is clear that as long as the Khalisah army is on the watch, no one can march upon Hindustan unopposed."[2]

THE SHAH NOMINATED PRINCE TAIMUR AS HIS SUCCESSOR

Ahmad Shah had not been keeping good health for some time. The strain of successive expeditions had shattered his strong constitution. He was, perhaps, suffering from diabetes. But his worst malady was the wound on his nose which had developed into an ulcer and was slowly eating into his face. He had been compelled to substitute an artificial nose of silver.

Seeing his end approaching, the Shah determined to proclaim his second son, Taimur Shah, his viceroy and successor to the throne. This decision appeared to his Sardars to be unjust to his eldest son, Suleman Mirza, whose primogenitary right, thought they, was being violated by this choice. They all assembled together and presented to the Shah their resolution in favour of the eldest son and expressed something like discontent at not having been consulted in a matter of such great importance. The Shah replied that he had not been ruled by his own particular bias but that he had been guided in that decision entirely by considerations of public good. "Taimur," said he, "it is true, is younger than Suleman but he is infinitely more capable of governing you than his brother." On being questioned on the point, the Shah simply replied that Suleman had failed to win esteem and affection of the Afghan tribes; that he was violent without clemency; that he had never been able to foresee and put down a revolt; and that he had hastily put to death Sardar Zal Beg. "But," said the Sardars, "it was by your order." "Did I not also order Taimur to put Dilawar Khan to death?" said the Shah; "and what did he do? Political reasons might induce me to order two culprits to be put to death, but other secret reasons, which were known to the prince Suleman, ought to have led him to disobey me." With

2. CPC. iii. 868.

this the Sardars were satisfied and accepted the decision of the Shah.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE SHAH

In the summer of 1772, his disease reached such a fearful stage that it affected the upper part of the nose and nasopharynx. Maggots developed there and they dropped into his mouth when he ate or drank. He could hardly eat anything without the help of spoons. All medical aid having failed, he retired to a palace at Toba-Maruf in the Suleman hills, about ninety miles to the east of Qandahar. When Prince Taimur heard of the serious illness of his father, he set out from Herat and arrived at Qandahar. Shah Wali Khan was not favourably inclined towards him. He poisoned the ears of the Shah and secured his orders for the prince to go back to his province. In vain did he expostulate and appeal to the Shah; the unfortunate prince had to march away without seeing his father.

THE SHAH'S DEATH

The Shah's malady soon became worse. Towards the end of his life his speech became indistinct, and his mumblings could only be understood with the help of his signs, by Yaqut Khan, who was in close attendance upon him. But after some time, he too failed to understand him. The Shah had then to write out whatever he had to say. In this state of helplessness, Ahmad Shah passed away during the night of Friday, the 20th of Rajjab, 1186 A.H., October 23, 1772.[3]

THE SHAH BURIED AT QANDAHAR

Yaqut Khan, the chief eunuch and a confidant of the Shah, kept the death a closely guarded secret and wrote to

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3. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh*, 147-48; *Husain Shahi*, 68-70; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 146-47; Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, 91-92; Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*, 291-92; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 298.

Elphinstone, followed by Ferrier and Malleson, places the date of the Shah's death in June, 1773. The *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh* puts the event in the end of Jamadi-us-Sani, 1185, which corresponds to October, 1771. The *Umda-tu-Tawarikh*, i. 166, says that the Shah died on the 2nd of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1186, June 10, 1772. I have followed the Afghan authorities, the *Tarikh-i-Sultani* and the *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh*. The *Husain Shahi* gives no date.

'aimur Shah to hasten to Qandahar to take possession of the hrone. At the same time, he proceeded to the capital with ıe royal corpse. He placed it in a litter and gave out that, on ccount of his serious illness, the Shah had ordered that no ne should be allowed to disturb him. He drew the curtains arefully and kept the body concealed from everyone. Yaqut Khan himself approached the litter from time to time, as if ɔ receive orders from his sovereign or give him some refresh- ıent. He also carried his treasure, loaded on mules, which lways preceded the litter so that he might be able to keep is eyes constantly upon them. No one discovered the truth uring the greater part of the journey. They were a day's ıarch from Qandahar, when Prince Suleman came to receive is father. It was then that the Shah's death was made ublic. The body was interred in Qandahar in the western uarter of the city in an octagonal structure. The engraved pitaph reads in the following manner:

"Ahmad Shah Durrani was a great king!
Such was the fear of his justice, that lion and
the hind lived peacefully together.
The ears of his enemies were incessantly deafened
by the noise of his conquests."[4]

4. Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, 92; Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*, 292; Hamilton, *Afghanistan*, 190; Muhammad Hayat Khan, *Hayat-i-Afghani*, 22.

CHAPTER XXVI

AHMAD SHAH: THE MAN AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

As we have seen in the foregoing pages, Ahmad Shah's genius found its fullest expression in his remarkable military exploits. He combined with his soldier's career some great human qualities. A born soldier, the great Afghan was a natural leader of men, a humane ruler, an able administrator and a patron of learning and literature.

AHMAD SHAH'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE

'His person,' said Dow in 1767, when the Shah was about forty-five years of age, 'is tall and robust, and inclined to being fat. His face is remarkably broad, his beard very black; and his complexion, moderately fair. His appearance, upon the whole, is majestic and expressive of an uncommon dignity and strength of mind.'[1] Hardy and enterprising by nature, he presented an ideal picture of Afghan manhood. It was only towards the end of his life that his face became slightly deformed on account of the wound on his nose and the pimples on his cheeks and forehead.

He possessed a towering and magnetic personality, and there was something really remarkable in his luminous face and demeanour that won him the admiration and affection of all. A prodigy from boyhood, he had attracted the notice of Nadir Shah, who always kept him on his personal staff and showered on him the highest praises. "I have not seen in Iran, Turan and Hindustan any man," said Nadir once in an open court, "of such laudable talents as possessed by Ahmad Abdali."[2] And the words of Nadir turned out to be prophetically true. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asafjah of the Deccan predicted his rise to royalty when he saw him for the first time outside the Jali gate near the Diwan-i-Am in the fort of Delhi in March, 1739. Sabir Shah *darvesh* saw in him the

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1. Dow, *History of Hindostan*, ii. 408-09.
2. *Husain Shahi*, 11.

signs of the 'next' man after Nadir Shah. And when he put him up as a candidate for election to the *Sardari* of the Afghan people in 1747, Ahmad Shah was acclaimed by one and all, including Haji Jamal Khan Muhammadzei himself, a candidate, who commanded the greatest number of votes and who was the most influential and powerful of the Afghan nobles.

PERSONAL CHARACTER AND TASTES

'In personal character,' says Elphinstone, 'he seems to have been cheerful, affable and good-natured. He maintained considerable dignity on State occasions, but at other times his manners were plain and familiar; and with the Dooraunees he kept up the same equal and popular demeanour which was usual'[3] with him before he assumed the title of King. Ahmad Shah had a religious bent of mind and was fond of the society of learned and holy men. He treated the *Mullahs* and *darveshes* with great respect and his devotion to Sabir Shah was universally known. On his way from Kabul to the Panjab, he always paid reverential visits to Shaikh Umar of Chamkanni, near Peshawar, and to the saints of Lahore and Batala when he was there. He made a pilgrimage to the mausoleum of Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Auliya in Delhi in January, 1760, while marching against the Jats, and to that of Bu Ali Qalandar at Panipat after his historic battle against the Marathas. While all the high officials and the chiefs and nobles of the state kept respectfully standing in his presence, the Sayyads and priests were permitted to be seated. He also invited the *ulema* and *fuqra,* the learned theologians and religious mendicants, to dinner every Thursday evening in order to 'be able to converse with them on the sciences and religion' in which he was deeply interested. 'He was himself a divine and an author, and was always ambitious of the character of a saint.'

He was ever true to his word and he could always be relied upon for the fulfilment of his promises. His forbearance and clemency towards the descendants of Nadir Shah, in spite of their repeated acts of hostility, showed his generosity and spirit of loyalty.

3. Elphinstone, *Caubul,* 298-99; *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 147.

Once a Hindu *Sannyasi* mendicant, Swami Pran Puri Urdhbahu, during his rambles, fell in with the army of the Shah in the close vicinity of Ghazni. The Shah must have heard of the great reputation of the *Sannyasis* of India for their knowledge of medicinal herbs and prescriptions of extraordinary efficacy. On hearing of the arrival of Swami Pran Puri in his camp, he consulted him about the ulcer on his nose and requested him to prescribe some remedy for it. But the Shah's malady required knowledge of surgery of which the Swami was completely ignorant. He had, therefore, recourse only to his wits by insinuating to the Shah that "there subsisted a connection between the ulcer and his sovereignty, so that it was not safe to seek to get rid of one lest it might risk the loss (? existence) of the other This suggestion met with the approbation of the Prince (Ahmad Shah)!" This evidently took place in the closing years of the Shah's life when he had realized that his trouble was really incurable.

"He was free from most of the crimes," says Ferrier, "commonly found in the individuals of Eastern nations, such as drunkenness, whether from wine or opium, duplicity, avarice, cruelty, ...; he was always a most firm supporter of religion." Possessing a kind heart and generous and charitable in disposition, Ahmad Shah was popular with all sections of his people. He was fond of manly sports of riding and hunting, and was a great lover of horses. It is related by Imam-ud-Din Husaini, on the authority of Taimur Shah, that once, when Shah Wali Khan enquired of the Shah why he looked sad and morose, he replied, "My horse Tarlan is sick" "But there are thousands of horses in royal stables," submitted the *Wazir*. "After a long search I had become a *do-aspah* (master of two horses, Tarlan and Hamdam)," said the Shah. "Now one of them is sick. I am feeling gloomy lest I should again become *Yak-aspah* (master of only one horse)."[4]

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4. Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 298-99, Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*, 272-73; Ferrier, *History of Afghans*, 92-3; *Husain Shahi*, 41, *Journal of Panjab Hist. Soc.* (1923), IX.

HIS DRESS AND FOOD

Ahmad Shah was very simple in his dress and could hardly be distinguished from his chiefs and nobles in this respect. In a portrait preserved in the Central Museum, Lahore (P. 87), he is shown as wearing a Persian *Kulah* with an aigrette and a *sarpech*. Over an uncollared shirt of tight sleeves, he wore a *postin* (a tight fur jacket). He wore no strings of pearls and gems on his cap and arms nor any pearl-necklaces like Nadir Shah. With an Afghan *Shalwar* as trousers, he is seated on an unornamented oblong throne.

He seldom sat on the royal throne, and his dress consisted of a big shawl worn as a turban, a painted jacket over a cotton shirt, a leather coat and a loose Afghan *shalwar* as trousers. This was then, and had been up to the earlier decades of the present century, the national dress of the Afghans.

Muhammad Hayat Khan in his *Hayat-i-Afghani* tells us that the dress of the Afghan nobles included a beautiful big turban over a cap, a long coloured shirt with a *chugha* (a loose overcoat) over it, a loose *shalwar*, a *kamarband* (a belt of cloth wrapped round the waist over the shirt but under the *chugha*), with a *pesh-qabz*, or dagger, tucked in front in the belt, and a sword either buckled with a leather strap or tucked in the *kamarband* on the left side. In winter a thick fur jacket or a long dark brown leather coat protected them from cold and wind. They wore shoes of thick leather with extra-strong toes bent upwards and backwards like the upturned trunk of an elephant. In winter these shoes were replaced by long boots and kid-leather socks.

Ahmad Shah was equally simple in his food which was free from multiple courses and unnecessary dainties. Like all other Afghans, he ate *palav* of seasoned flesh and rice—sometimes coloured and garnished with eggs and onions—, fresh or dried meat, *Kabab* or roasted meat, cheese and butter-milk, along with leavened-baked bread and fruits and *sharbat*.[5]

HIS HEALTH

For over a quarter of a century of his active life, Ahmad Shah maintained an excellent health. It was only after his

5. *Hayat-i-Afghani*, 130; Ghubar, *Ahmad Shah Baba*, 50-52.

forty-seventh year that he felt the effects of his long and restless exertions. Added to this was his chronic disease of diabetes which had been gradually dissolving his energy. But his worst complaint was the lupoid ulcer upon his nose which literally ate into his face during the last two years of his life. These factors contributed to physical enervation and he became a sacrifice to his life's work at the age of fifty-one.

EDUCATION AND LOVE OF LEARNING

Although there is nothing on record to show that Ahmad Shah ever attended any school for his education, the fact remains that he was not only literate but also well-versed in the national languages of the country. In his early youth he seems to have attended some mosque-school where he acquired proficiency both in Pashtu and Persian. He had a fairly good taste in poetry. His own verses are simple in language and traditional in construction; and yet they are remarkable for their emotion. A collection of his poems was published at Kabul in 1319 Afghani, 1940 A.D., under the title of *Loe Ahmad Shah Baba.*

Ahmad Shah was a great admirer of poet *Waqif* of Batala and he invited him to his court at Qandahar. On his arrival in royal presence, Waqif is said to have composed the following couplet:

ندیدہ ہیچ کس ظلِّ پیمبر ۔ بحمد اللہ کہ ظلِّ اللہ دیدم

No one has seen the shadow of the Prophet;
By the praise of God, I have seen the representative (the shadow) of God.

He has left no autobiographical memoirs or any other writings to enable us to judge the style of his prose. Mahmud-ul-Musannai, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi,* tells us that Ahmad Shah had great admiration for the language and style of Mir Mehdi Khan Astrabadi's *Tarikh-i-Nadiri* and that he was in search of someone with similar attainments for writing his own history.[6]

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6. Elphinstone, *Caubul,* 299, Allen, *Diary,* 5; Mahmud-ul-Musannai, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi;* Muhammad Husain Azad, *Nigaristan-i-Fars,*

There are about a dozen official letters and *farmans* ascribed to Ahmad Shah in the *Murasalat-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*. But official correspondence was generally written by secretaries and clerks under royal orders. It cannot, therefore, be said with certainty whether those letters and farmans are of the Shah's own composition

AHMAD SHAH AND THE ARTS

In an age when sword was mighter than pen, no other arts than the art of war could have flourished so well. Ahmad Shah had very little leisure for anything else. Whatever little time he had between any two military operations was spent in the consolidation of his conquests and in preparation for the next operation. Moreover, he was not spared to live long enough to devote much of his attention to pursuits of peace.

As a man of some education and taste in poetry, he extended patronage to poets and writers. As already stated, poet Nur-ul-Ain *Waqif* of Batala was a favourite of his and was invited by him to Qandahar where he was welcomed and entertained as a state guest. A mention of him is made in Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad's *Nigaristan-i-Fars*, pp. 225-32.

Nizam-ud-Din *Ishrat* was Ahmad Shah's another favourite poet. He was a resident of Sialkot. On the Shah's return march from Delhi in the summer of 1757 he came from Sialkot, paid homage to His Afghan Majesty after he had crossed the river Chenab and accompanied him to Kabul. Nizam-ud-Din had composed a poetical account of Nadir Shah under the title of *Nadir Namah* in 1162 A.H., 1749 A.D. The Shah seems to have been impressed by the poet's work and desired him to write an account of his own reign.

226; Ghubar, *Ahmad Shah Baba*, 54. The real name of the poet was Nur-ul-Ain. He was a resident of Batala in the district of Gurdaspur, Panjab, where his father was a *Qazi*. During the disturbed days of the second half of the eighteenth century, poet Nur-ul-Ain *Waqif* settled down at Bahawalpur. (He was also known as *Lahauri—of* Lahore). He died in 1190 A.H., 1776 A.D.—*Nigaristan-i-Fars*, 225-27.

Under the Shah's orders, material was supplied to him by the official historiographer, Mirza Mahmud of the *Dar-ul-Insha*, the Imperial Secretariat, and Nizam-ud-Dın returned to Sialkot. In 1762, he accompanied Sardar Nur-ud-Din Khan Bamezei to Kashmir and was appointed an *Amın*, a judicial functionary, in the valley. Nizam-ud-Din composed the *Shah-Namah-i-Ahmadiya*, a *masnavı* of 614 pages. It is an interesting poetical account of the reign of Ahmad Shah, which concludes with the death of the Shah and the accession of his son Taimur Shah in 1772.

In prose, he admired the style of Mırza Muhammad Mehdi Astarabadt, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Jahankusha-i-Nadiri*, also called *Tarikh-i-Nadiri*. He, therefore, selected in 1167 A.H., at Mashhad, Mirza Mahmud-ul-Musannai on account of his long and intimate connection with Mirza Mehdi and appointed him an historiographer ın the *Dar-ul-Insha* to compile a history of his reign in a style similar to that of the *Tarikh-i-Nadiri*. Mirza Mahmud wrote this work under the title of *Tarıkh-i-Ahmad Shahi* and an abridgment of ıt called the *Mulakhis Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah*.[7]

Ahmad Shah displayed keen interest in the construction of towns and buildings. He had been greatly affected by the destruction of the ancient city of Qandahar by Nadir Shah. On his return to Afghanistan after the victory of Panipat, he laid the foundation of the modern city of Qandahar (*Qandahar-i-Ahmad Shahı*), also called the *Ashraf-ul-Balad*, details of which have already been given in Chapter XX. In the centre of the northern quarter of the city was built the royal fort, which had on its sides cantonment buildings for the army, the *Top-khana* (artillery), *Aslah-khana* (Arsenal), *Juba-khana* (Armoury), ammunition-factory and the royal stables. In front of the royal fort at the end of the *Bazaar Shah* was built the *Jameh-i-Shahi*, or the royal mosque. But the finest edifices constructed by Ahmad Shah in Qandahar were the memorial which was raised to preserve

7. Muhammad Husain Azad, *Nigaristan-i-Fars*, 225-27; Mahmud-ul-Musannai, *Tarıkh-ı-Ahmad Shahı;* Ishrat, *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadıya*.

and display the sacred garment ascribed to Prophet Muhammad and the building which was intended to serve as his own mausoleum after his death.[8]

In 1753 (1166 A.H.) he gave a regular shape to the city of Kabul with a view to constructing ramparts around it. Here he also built in 1769 (1183 A.H.) the mausoleum of Shah Is'haq Khatlani, known as Shah Shahid, near the Bala Hisar under the supervision of his trusted *Khwaja-sara* Yaqut Khan. In 1170 A.H. (1756-57 A.D.), he deputed Mehrab Khan and Abdul Karim Khan to build in the holy city of Mecca a *rubat,* or rest-house, for Afghan pilgrims The modern town of Tash-qurghan, forty miles to the east of Mazar-i-Sharif, was also built by Ahmad Shah in place of the ancient Khulm, called Dih-i-Fir'aun, or Pharaoh's village. The city of Hyderabad was founded during his reign in the then *vilayat* of Sindh, by his viceroy Ghulam Shah Khan.

The Shah was a great patron of masons and wood-carvers. He invited and welcomed many such experts to the new city of Qandahar from the eastern parts of Afghanistan and from India and established a separate colony of them known as *Mahalla-i-Binayan,* which still exists under the same name and is inhabited by the descendants[9] of the original immigrants.

Ahmad Shah's own mausoleum is a typical example of the architecture of his days. Considerable skill in wood-carving, embroidery and inlaying had also been developed, and specimens of these may still be seen in the houses built in those days. The Shah does not seem to have paid much attention to music and painting. Not many of his paintings are known to exist. There is only one available in the Central Museum at Lahore, and a photographic copy of it was reproduced in the present writer's edition of Qazi Nur Muhammad's *Jang-Namah,* published in 1939. Another portrait of his drawn towards the end of his life is included

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8 Ghubar, *Ahmad Shah Baba,* 175-76; Bellew, *Journal,* 82.

Nadir Shah in 1737 had laid the foundation of a new town, called Nadirabad, after his own name, two miles to the south-east of the ruins of old Qandahar. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah,* 115, Ghubar, *Ahmad Shah Baba,* 176-77.

9. Ghubar, *Ahmad Shah Baba,* 176-77.

in Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar's *Ahmad Shah Baba*, printed at Kabul in 1944.

HUMANE RULER

A humane ruler as he was, Ahmad Shah would not draw out his sword unnecessarily. He was reluctant to punish even the worst of his enemies and constantly manifested clemency 'which induced him so often to pardon the rebellious chiefs who could not bring themselves to bow under the yoke of his obedience, and between whom he was obliged to be the peace-maker.' He forbade the cutting of the nose and ears of anyone, whatever his crime, and withdrew from the master the right to kill his slave. He condemned his eldest son for the murder of the rebel *sardar*, Zal Beg Khan, which, according to the Shah, betrayed unnecessary violence of temper and the absence of mercy in his character. When his chiefs represented that the prince had done it under His Majesty's orders, he remarked, "Political reasons might induce me to order two culprits to be put to death, but other secret reasons, which were known to prince Suleiman, ought to have led him to disobey me." His excesses in India may be mostly attributed to the ferocious nature of his military chief, Sardar Jahan Khan, who was quite the antithesis of the Shah in many traits of his character, or to his soldierly vengeance against his foreign political enemies, who stood in the way of the extension of the Afghan dominion.[10]

CHARACTER OF HIS GOVERNMENT

Raised by his people to the highest honour and dignity of kingship, Ahmad Shah proved himself worthy of the trust in every manner. He brought together the heterogeneous mass of a large number of warring tribes and knit them into a homogeneous Afghan nation. His greatest achievement was to free his people from the yoke of foreign domination, to raise them from 'the dust of subjection to the throne of independence,' and to consolidate the various Afghan lands into one political unit—Afghanistan. 'The country, now termed Afghanistan,' says Sir Percy Sykes, 'had merely consisted of

10. Ferrier, 91-94; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, 298.

a congeries of petty states, ruled by tyrannical chiefs, who were frequently at war with one another. Later it became provinces of great empires which were ruled by foreign conquerors and their descendants. Later again, it was a dismembered country, with its provinces held by three neighbouring states. Now for the first time in its chequered history, Afghanistan became an independent state,' ruled by an Afghan monarch. And it was Ahmad Shah who wrought this miracle.[11]

Tracing the history of Afghanistan down from 500 B.C., when it formed part of the Achaemenian Empire of Darius, we find it overrun by the Greeks under Alexander (331 B.C.), whose successors held it, however nominally, up to 250 B.C., when Ashoka established his full authority over the Hindu Kush and beyond. Then came in the Yue-Chis, followed in turn by the Kushans, whose well-known king Kanishka helped Buddhism and its culture, introduced in these parts by Ashoka, reach their highest development. Not much is known about the Parthians who were overthrown at the beginning of the third century by Ardashir, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty. The fourth and the fifth centuries witnessed a struggle for supremacy between the white Huns and the Mongolian Turks which resulted in the re-establishment of the Persian rule under the Sasanid Emperor, Khusrau Anushirwan.

When Hiuan-Tsang, the great Chinese pilgrim, passed through Afghanistan from Balkh, he found it ruled by a Buddhist Turk. In 699-700 came as far as the Kabul River valley the first Muslim expedition of the Arabs from Basra under Abdur Rahman. The vanquished Turk was allowed to retain his throne under Arab sovereignty. It was however reserved for Qutaybah Ibn-Muslim (Abu Muslim) to Islamize the Turkish population of the country.

The Yamini dynasty of Ghazni was founded by Alaptigin in 961. It was Mahmud, the third and the greatest of this line, who invaded India for the twelfth time in 1024 and destroyed the idol and temple of Somnath. The Ghaznavis were followed by Ghauris who, in turn, were succeeded by

11. Sykes, *Afghanistan*, 367; Ferrier, 96.

the Turks under Muhammad Khan, King of Khwarizm, popularly known as Khwarizm Shah, who was overthrown in about 1221 by the Mongols of Changez Khan, while the Tajik dynasty at one time (1332-70) attained virtual independence in Herat, on the relaxation of Mongol control. Kabul and Ghazni and the greater part of the eastern country continued to be ruled by the Mongols. Taimur Gurgani, a Barlas Turk, with his capital at Samarqand, occupied and ruled the eastern parts by the end of the fourteenth century to be followed by Babur who, driven from Samarqand, captured Kabul in October, 1504. Qandahar surrendered to him in 1522.

Babur founded the Mughal empire in India in 1526, and it was only the eastern parts of the Afghan country that were at times held by him or his descendants as parts of the Indian empire. The whole of Afghanistan, as at present constituted, never at any time formed part of any one united empire or kingdom. The *Vilayats* of Herat and Mazar-i-Sharif and the *Hakumats* of Farrah and Maimna never formed parts of the Mughal empire. The *Vilayat* of Badakhshan was occupied by the Uzbaks in about 1584. It was taken by the Mughals in 1639 but they could only precariously hold it for a period of about eight years, surrendering it to its original masters in 1647-48.

Qandahar was seized by the Persians in 1558. Akbar recaptured it in 1595 and held it up to his death in 1605. The struggle continued between India and Persia with occasional transfer of control over Qandahar up to 1747 when it was finally occupied by Ahmad Shah Durrani. It was only the province of Kabul that continued to remain a part of the Mughal empire up to 1738, when it was captured by Nadir Shah.

Ahmad Shah appeared on the scene in 1747 and he changed the whole course of Afghan history.

Born and bred among the Afghans, with the Afghan blood running in his veins, he could feel the pulse of these people and enter into their spirit and sentiments. He, therefore, adapted his rule to the character and prejudices of his subjects. Centralizing only the main springs of authority into his own hands, he left the administration of the

tribes to their respective chiefs, who were only required to contribute contingents of *sawars*, in proportion to their strength, for the military campaigns of the Shah.

"His government," according to Ferrier, "resembled much more a federative republic, of which he was the head, than an absolute monarchy" To help him in the general administration of the country, he had a council of nine chiefs, and never was a measure of importance adopted without their consent. Nor did he ever assume an arrogant tone of superiority towards the tribal chiefs, who had once been his equals and who had raised him to sovereign power. He also raised the tone of the Afghan people by infusing in them a spirit of independence, and abolished the slavish practice of *Kornish* (bending the body and kissing the earth) for those who came to him for *salaam*, and commanded that for a salute it was enough to carry the hand to one's forehead.[12]

AHMAD SHAH'S RELIGIOUS POLICY

Although the Afghan country was populated predominantly by Muslims and there were not many Hindus or Sikhs in the villages, the cities and towns had a good sprinkling of them. "The cities and towns," said George Forster, who travelled through Afghanistan in 1783, just a decade after the death of Ahmad Shah, "are chiefly inhabited by Hindus and Mahometans of Punjab." "At Qandahar," wrote the same traveller, "are established many Hindoo families, chiefly of Moultan and the Rajepoot districts, who by their industry and mercantile knowledge, have essentially augmented its trade and wealth. The Turcoman merchants of Bochara and Samarkand also frequent this mart, whence they transport into their own country a considerable quantity of indigo with which commodity Qandahar is annually supplied from various parts of upper India. The extensive range of shops occupied by Hindu traders with ease and contentment expressed in their deportment, affords a fair testimony of their enjoying at Qandahar liberty and protection"

Religious toleration is one of the chief virtues of the Afghan people. Throughout his reign, Ahmad Shah and his

12. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 147; Ferrier, 93-95; Ghubar, 44.

Sunni countrymen were pitched against the Shiahs of Khurasan and the Hindus and Sikhs of India, and although, not unoften, he used *Jihad* against the infidels as a political weapon against his opponents, he seldom carried it to the extremes of religious bigotry. In fact, while busily engaged in preparing to meet the Marathas in battle, the Shah had it proclaimed by beat of drum on the 13th of Sha'ban, 1173 A.H., March 31, 1760, after the visit of Ahmad Khan Bangash, that "no one from amongst the men from *vilayat* (Afghanistan) shall exhibit any religious bigotry towards the Hindus or Musalmans of Hindustan, and that the conquerors (the soldiers of the Shah) shall not be tyrannical and persecuting towards the weak, nor shall anyone object to the religious and social practices of any one."

The Shah employed Hindu *vakils* Anand Ram and Kulraj for his negotiations with the Marathas, and appointed Hindus, Sukh Jiwan and Kabuli Mall, as governors of Kashmir and Lahore respectively.

In addition to 'liberty and protection' of trade in the country, the Hindus and Sikhs enjoyed full freedom of religious worship, and their temples and Gurdwaras were never interfered with. Some of the Hindus and Sikhs have lived in Afghanistan for centuries without any apprehensions from their Afghan neighbours. The greatest proof of the security these scattered people enjoyed was furnished in 1947 when, in the new neighbouring State of Pakistan, the Sikhs and Hindus were killed at sight, and men, women and children were subjected to wholesale massacre and inhuman tortures, without a single incident of this nature in the whole of Afghanistan.

There was a colony of Armenian Christians settled near the Bala Hisar fort in Kabul. They had originally been captured by Nadir Shah in his Turkish war and established in the northern parts of Persia whence they were removed by Ahmad Shah to Afghanistan. According to Forster's account of 1783, "they intermarry with their own women and are allowed the free use of Christian religion, which is administered by a national priest. They were attached to the body-guard of the late (Ahmad) Shah whom they attended in various expeditions."

In spite of the deep-rooted prejudices of the Persian Shiahs against the Sunnis, Ahmad Shah, who was a Sunni, treated them with liberality. "The Schiahas", says Forster, "have imbibed strong religious prejudices, are more inflamed with the zeal of devotion, and consequently less tolerant to the other sects than the Soonis. In Persia they do not permit a Sooni to eat at their board, and in common language, without provocation or heat of temper, they call him an infidel... In the division of Khurasan, subject to the Afghan empire, the Persians enjoy a fair portion of civil and religious liberty, and are rarely treated with insults."[13]

A NATION BUILDER

The chief merit of Ahmad Shah's work lay in the consolidation of the Afghan tribes. He made a nation of them. On his return from his second Indian invasion in 1750, Ahmad Shah ordered the census of the Afghan people to be taken To him they appeared to be a tiny nation in comparison with the multiplying Indians on the one side and the Persians on the other. He wished to see the Afghans also flourish and grow in strength. In order to increase their number, he brought into the fold of the Afghan nationality all the Pashto-speaking tribes, even of Aimak and Baluch origin, settling them in the various provinces of his new state, particularly in the districts of Farrah and on the banks of the Halmand. He desired the Afghans to ally themselves more closely with one another and not to give their daughters in marriage to strangers.[14]

HIS SOCIAL REFORMS

Ahmad Shah raised the status of women. He abolished the inequitable practice of divorce, which gave men immense advantage over women. He strongly advocated the remarriage of widows. At the death of an Afghan, his nearest relative, the father, son and real brother excepted, should marry his widow, said the Shah. If there was no relative,

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13 Forster, *A Journey from Bengal,* ii. 79, 86-87, 103, 130-31; Ferrier, 93; Elphinstone, *Caubul,* 277-78, 299; *Muraslat-i-Durrani,* 50; Sardesai, *History of Marathas,* ii. 448.

14 *Hayat-i-Afghani,* 225, 692, Elphinstone, *Caubul,* 299; Ferrier, 93; Malleson, *History of Afghanistan,* 292.

the widow should reside in the house of her deceased husband, and live on the proceeds of his property till her death. In case a married woman died without a child, her father, brother or other relatives could not demand her dowry from the husband. The succession, however, said the Shah, should go entirely to the son, to the exclusion of the daughters, who up to that time had participated in the property left by their fathers, and had, at times, passed it on to their non-Afghan husbands.[15]

HIS REGARD FOR HIS SOLDIERS

Ahmad Shah had accumulated a huge amount of wealth which consisted of booty from his foreign campaigns; but 'the revenues of Afghanistan, properly termed, never found their way into his private coffers.' He was not avaricious. Like a lion, he was large-hearted to entertain his friends and followers on the game he secured, and never behaved like a cat that withdraws into a corner when it finds a morsel to eat. He freely distributed the spoils of his wars among his men whom he always looked upon as partners in his gains. According to the *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* his soldiers were once reduced to straitened circumstances in the siege of Nishapur and they laid their hands on the royal treasury. When the treasurer reported the matter to him, he took no notice of it. When that officer again pressed it upon his attention, he turned round and said, "Don't you know, you fool, that I am also one of them, that it is by their unanimity, and with the help of their swords, that I have been raised to this high position. I should certainly look upon my soldiers as partners of this wealth. If they make a demand upon my wealth, which, in reality, is the result of their efforts, and I do not share it with them, I stand condemned both before man and God."[16]

He maintained an army of a hundred and twenty thousand horse, including the contingents of his vassals and tribal chiefs. He believed that repose and idleness would have a demoralising effect on his warlike chiefs and his Afghan subjects; he, therefore, kept them almost always

15 *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 147; Ferrier, 93.
16. *Tarikh-i-Sultani,* 147.

engaged in foreign campaigns. Besides keeping the army in a state of discipline, these campaigns added to his personal glory as a great soldier, raised his country in the eyes of the world, provided him with means for the maintenance of his armies and contributed to the general prosperity of his people.

TITLES OF DISTINCTION

The Shah followed the old Afghan and Mughal practice of honouring his sardars, chiefs and nobles, and high civil and military officials with titles of distinction. Some of these seem to have been significant of the qualities of the officers on whom they were conferred, such as honesty, integrity, loyalty and devotion to the king, or administrative ability. These were:

Shah Wali Khan, Shah Pasand Khan, Shah Dost Khan, Jahan Khan, Jan-Nisar Khan, Farzand Khan, Wafadar Khan, Kifayat Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Musharraf Khan, Nizam-u-Daulah, Mukhlis-u-Daulah, Amin-ul-Mulk, Iltifat Khan, etc., etc.[17]

'The laws he made during his reign, he caused to be rigorously executed, and commanded his descendants and successors to do the same.' 'But Ahmad Shah,' says Ferrier, 'is much more deserving of eulogy for the talent with which he subjected the various Afghan tribes to his laws, than for having given such a vast extension to his kingdom, or the victories he won.' 'His reign was remarkable,' continues the same writer, 'for the good he spread around him, and his simple and modest demeanour in the midst of courtly pomp made him loved by all who approached his person; he was of easy access, and administered justice on the most equitable principles without a harsh word even to those who deserved it; he was conciliating, persuasive, and none ever complained of the judgment he gave.'[18]

CONCLUSION

Such was the impression created by Ahmad Shah's military courage and activity in war, and by his civil administration at home that a contemporary historian of

17. Ghubar, *Ahmad Shah Baba,* 173.
18. Ferrier, 93-94.

India, Alexander Dow (1767), considered him 'to be the most likely person . . . to restore the ancient power of empire, should he assume the title of king of Delhi.'[19] But that was possible only if, like Babur and others before him, he had decided to make India his permanent home and cut himself entirely from his motherland. The mere shifting of the capital from Kandahar to Delhi would not have been enough. The times had changed. The Sikhs had become a strong military power. The *Dal* or the national army of the Sikhs was composed of devoted soldiers and capable leaders, some of whom had already given evidence of possessing extraordinary degree of political and military acumen. They had also extended the principle of *Rakhi* or protection to those who were willing to make a nominal contribution of twenty per cent of the produce of their land for the *ghass-dana* or maintenance of the detachments of the *Dal* detailed for this purpose. They had won freedom from the Mughal kings of Delhi after a hard struggle and were not prepared to submit to the authority of the Afghans of Kabul. No sooner did the Durrani cross the Sutlej on his way to Delhi or recrossed the Chenab on his way back home than the Sikhs re-asserted themselves in their homeland and recovered what they had relinquished for the moment. To supplant them and to subjugate them permanently was well nigh impossible. With a people of such invincible courage and patriotic aspirations intervening between Afghanistan and Delhi, the Shah would have been exposed to the risk of being cut off from Afghanistan, his only source of life and power, had he chosen to make Delhi his imperial capital. This risk the Shah was not prepared to run.

To the south of Delhi, there were the Marathas coveting the throne of Hindustan. Though defeated by the Shah in the battle of Panipat, they were yet a strong power in India waiting only for a favourable chance to reassert themselves at Delhi. Then, there were the valiant Jats of Bharatpur whose chief Suraj Mall had challenged the might of the Shah in March, 1757, when the Great Mughal, Emperor Alamgir II, lay low in dust before him. Moved by religious

19. *History of Hindostan*, 409.

affinity and racial pride, they would have preferred to join the Marathas and add to their strength against an alien foe.

On the other hand, the Shah had in India no such allies as could either keep down the Sikhs in the Panjab or successfully oppose the Marathas in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The Afghans of Malerkotla were too weak to be of any help to him. Besides, they owed their independent existence not to their own strength but to the grateful regard of the Sikhs for the memory of Nawab Sher Muhammad Khan who had expressed sympathy for the young sons of Guru Gobind Singh done to death by Wazir Khan of Sirhind in December, 1704, and to the goodwill of the Phulkian chiefs who stood by them in days of danger. Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, was too far away from the Panjab and could ill-afford to openly ally himself with the Shah and go against the Marathas and the East India Company who were both opposed to the Afghan domination in India. Surrounded on three sides by them, he was at their mercy. The Bangash Ruhilas of Farrukhabad were too insignificant to be counted upon; and their co-operation with the Shah was never active. Najib-ud-Daulah alone actively associated himself with the Shah during his invasions of India. But he was only a petty chief with limited resources, living by his wits against the Marathas, the Jats and the Sikhs. Whenever the Shah came to India, he had not unoften to fight Najib's battles. He was thus more a liability to the Shah than an asset.

Added to these unfavourable circumstances in India were the occasional rebellions and risings at home and in Khurasan which every time demanded his personal attention and immediate withdrawal from India.

Above everything else was the Shah's own attitude towards the throne of Delhi. He does not appear to have ever intended to occupy it or to make India his home or Delhi the capital of his empire. He evidently wished to confine his Indian conquests to the neighbouring country of the Panjab which he annexed to his own dominions in 1752. In 1757, he left his son Taimur as his viceroy at Lahore, but the Prince could not stay in the country for more than a year. Again in 1761, after the battle of Panipat, and in 1762 after the

great *Ghalughara,* he appointed his own governors at Sirhind and Lahore, but with no better success. Early in 1764 the Sikhs defeated the Afghan governor of Sirhind and occupied practically the whole territory to the south of the Sutlej. Within a few months, they occupied the province of Lahore to the north of that river, ransacked the territories of Multan, crossed the Indus and entered the *Deras* (Ismail Khan and Ghazi Khan). All subsequent efforts of the Shah and of his descendants failed to dislodge the Sikhs and they continued undisputed masters of the Panjab up to the middle of the nineteenth century.

One great effect of the unambitious policy of Ahmad Shah towards the throne of India was that it paved the way for British expansion to the north-west, to Delhi and ultimately to the Panjab and the Afghan frontier beyond the Khyber hills.

But the Shah accomplished the greatest of great things in making the Afghans a nation and giving them an independent homeland. He is known to the world more as *Baba-i-Afghan,* father of the Afghan nation, and the maker of modern Afghanistan than anything else.

An Afghan first, an Afghan last and an Afghan throughout, he spent the whole of his active life for the glorification of his country. Although he passed away from the scene of his earthly activities one hundred and eighty-five years ago, he still lives in the heart of every Afghan, young or old, who worships his memory as a great conqueror, a true and noble leader of men and the father of the united and independent Afghanistan, and loves to call him *Ahmad Shah Baba,* Ahmad Shah, the Grand Man.

Appendix I

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

Ahmad Shah had very little leisure for any elaborate organization of his civil government. For the first eleven years (1747-58) of his reign, he was busy with the consolidation of Afghanistan and the expansion of the empire. During the next twelve years (1759-70) he had to struggle hard for the protection and maintenance of his dominions. For the last two years of his life, he was confined to bed and could take no active part in the administration of the country. In the absence of any *dastur-ul-amal,* or descriptive account of his administration, it is extremely difficult to draw a satisfactory picture of it here. The following information has been derived from various biographies and historical works.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Shah. The Shah, with the title of *Durr-i-Durran,* was the head of the central government. He had the fullest control of all departments of the State, both civil and military, in his hands, in addition to the management of the political affairs of the government at home and abroad. He had the exclusive privilege of having coins struck and *khutba* read in his name. This privilege, as an exceptional case, was extended to the heir-apparent appointed as governor. The right of war and peace and of entering into treaties rested exclusively with the Shah He, however, consulted his *majlis* in all matters of importance. All high appointments were also in the gift of the Shah.

The Majlis. The Shah was assisted by a council of nine chiefs who advised him in all matters of general policy, both in civil administration and military operations. The members of the Council were generally drawn from amongst the chiefs of the leading Afghan tribes. The selection was in the hands of the Shah. The members held office for life and lost it only on the extreme displeasure of His Majesty. They

discussed and deliberated on matters forwarded to them by the Shah and submitted their resolutions to him. Although the Shah was the absolute head of the State, all-powerful in all matters, being the chief of civil administration, the supreme commander of the army and the defender of the faith, he always carried his *Majlis* with him and seldom happened to disagree with them. The result was that to the last moment of his life the members of the *Majlis* stood by him in all matters of internal administration and external policy.

The Prime Minister. The immediate assistant of the Shah as executive head of the State was his prime minister, called *Ashraf-ul-Wuzra,* whose duty it was to advise the Shah when called upon to do so, to see to the execution of his orders, to exercise a general supervision over all departments of the government and to direct and manage the political affairs of the government at home and abroad. At times the prime minister was called *Wazir-i-Azam* (the grand minister), *Amir-i-Kabir* (the highest of the nobles) and *Mukhtar-o-Mushir* (commissioner and adviser). This high office during the reign of Ahmad Shah was held by Baggy Khan Bamezei, entitled Shah Wali Khan, to whose credit it may be said that he was equally fluent in the use of sword as well as pen.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT (Wizarat-i-Maliya)

The Finance Department during the reign of Ahmad Shah was the largest of all civil departments. In addition to direct and indirect revenues, all matters relating to agriculture, irrigation, royal estates (the *Khalsa*), loans for agriculture and trade known as *taqavi,* public works, grain stores, mints, treasuries, etc., were dealt with by this department. Accounts of receipts and expenditure of all the different departments, except of the *Tahwilat,* or the monies advanced to the War Department for making purchases on behalf of the government, were collected and compiled by the Finance Department. During the reign of the Shah the head of this department, the Finance Minister, was called the *Diwan Begi* or *Diwan-i-Ala,* and the office was held by Abdullah Khan Bamezei. According to Faiz Muhammad's *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh,* the office of *Diwan-i-Ala* was also for some time held by Ali Raza Khan. The *khazanchi* or *khazanadar* (treasury officer)

was an important official of the Finance Department. He had in his custody all cash and other valuables in kind, in addition to important documents pertaining to revenues of the government and the *farmans* of the Shah. Under orders of competent authorities of the State, he made payments and kept accounts thereof.

The revenues of Ahmad Shah are said to have amounted to about three krors of rupees (about two and a quarter million sterling), which may be considered to be a respectable figure for Afghanistan of those disturbed and uncertain days.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (Mahkama-i-Shariya)

The administration of law and justice at the centre was in the hands of a chief justice called the *Qazi-u-Qazzat*. In addition to his ordinary functions, the Minister for Law also supervised the work of police officials who were responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the country. Mullah Faizullah Khan was the *Qazi-u-Qazzat* during the reign of Ahmad Shah.

In the capital of the government at Qandahar, as in other provincial capitals, the *Qazi* or the judge was assisted by eight *Naib-qazis* (deputy judges) and *Muftis* (givers of *fatwas* or expounders of Muhammadan Law), in addition to a number of *Katibs* or clerks.

The Qazis administered justice in the cities according to the Islamic law. In the rural areas, the cases of acknowledged crime were decided by a jury of the village elders called *jarga* which corresponded to the *panchayat* of the Panjab villages. The cases wherein crime was not acknowledged were referred to the *Qazis*. The punishments awarded by the Qazis were inflicted by the *Muhtasib*.

Attached to the *Qazi-khana* was an official called *Darogha-i-bazaar* whose duty it was to fix market prices and to superintend weights and measures.

ROYAL SECRETARIAT (Dar-u-Tahrir Hazur Badshah)

Next to the *Wizarat-i-Maliya* in importance was the Royal Secretariat or *Dar-u-Tahrir Hazur Badshah* which was directly under the control of the prime minister. It was in

fact the clerical department of the prime minister himself. All farmans, orders and correspondence of the Shah and the prime minister were written, copied and registered by this department, which was also responsible for the maintenance and preservation of all official records The officer in charge of the Secretariat was known as *Munshi bashi* or *Sar-munshi.* The names of Saadat Khan Saddozei and Mirza Hadi Khan are mentioned as officers in charge of *Diwan-i-Insha,* or *Dar-ul-Insha* as the Secretariat was sometimes called.

SMALLER OFFICIALS

In addition to ministers in charge of big departments, there were a number of smaller officials attached to the royal court and camp.

Ishak-Aghasi bashi—the Chief Usher, whose business it was to meet people at the gate of the darbar hall and conduct them to their seats and to introduce them to the Shah. This office corresponded to that of the modern *Wazir-i-darbar* of the Afghan kings. One Abdullah Khan held this post during the reign of Ahmad Shah. He was the person who was detailed by the Shah in 1752 for the conquest of Kashmir. The word *Ishak-Aghasi bashi* in Turkish means a gate-keeper, but in actual practice he was the Master of Ceremonies.

Arz Begi bashi was the officer who presented in audible voice to the Shah all petitions, written or otherwise, and conveyed to the petitioners His Majesty's orders thereon. This practice was followed in order to prevent mistakes which people unaccustomed to court might make in the language of ceremony, and to avoid the inconvenience arising from great distance at which strangers were kept from the person of the king The office of the *Arz Begi* was important as the Shah often desired him to enquire into representations made through him and was, therefore, naturally guided in the decision by his report.

A *Jarchi bashi* and a number of *jarchis* or criers, who announced the royal orders to petitioners and to armed forces and civilian subjects of the state, were attached to *Arz Begi bashi.* Haji Karimdad Khan, who was later on appointed deputy governor of Kashmir, held this office for a considerable time.

Mehmandar bashi was the officer responsible for receiving and entertaining royal guests and for looking after the maintenance and establishments of the guest-houses.

Nazir Khana-i-tuam superintended the royal kitchens and made arrangements for royal dinners and entertainments The expenses of the Shah's household were defrayed from funds allotted for that purpose and were managed by a special establishment of which the Shah's private treasurer and *mushrif*, or auditor of accounts, were heads

Urdu bashi was officer in charge of the subordinate functionaries, servants and guards of the royal *darbar*. He was next in importance to the *Ishak-Aghasi bashi*. The post was held by one Abdullah Khan who was appointed to hold the fort of Sirhind during the Shah's first invasion of India in 1747-48.

Peshkhanachi looked after the advance arrangements of the Shah's camp during his travels and expeditions He went ahead of the royal train and was responsible for the accommodation, meals, etc., of the Shah and his entourage on their arrival in camp.

Nasaqchi bashi was the body-guard officer whose duty it was to always remain in attendance upon the Shah with a body of armed soldiers and to look to the protection and safety of his person.

Nadim-i-Khas or *Musahib-i-padshah* was a confidant and privy counsellor of the Shah.

Khwaja-sara bashi was the chief of the eunuchs, who had under him a number of eunuchs and domestic servants of the royal palace and seraglio The chief eunuch and his subordinate eunuchs had a good deal of importance from their being admitted to the Shah's presence at all times and being allowed to be present at the most secret deliberations. *Khwaja-sara bashi* Yaqut Khan was one of the sincerest confidants of Ahmad Shah. Another *Khwaja-sara* of his, Yusuf Ali Khan, was related to the family of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah of Lucknow. He was a great favourite of the Shah and received from him the title of *Iltifat Khan* and was at one time appointed treasurer of the state.

Tabib bashi was the physician to His Majesty.

Mir Akhwar bashi, the Superintendent of the Stables, was one of the important officials of the government. In addition to the royal and state stables of horses, mules, camels and elephants, he looked after the farms of cows and bullocks and the breeding of all types of beasts of burden. The management of pastures and fodder stocks was also in his hands. The *Mir Akhwar bashi* was closely associated with the ministries of finance and war for the allotment of funds and accounts.

Darogha-i-Daftar-i-Akhbar and *Harkarah bashi.* Like the emperors of Iran and Hindustan, the Shah of Afghanistan maintained a considerable establishment of news-writers and couriers. He had also a secret service which worked with remarkable efficiency and promptitude and kept the Shah fully posted with up-to-date and reliable intelligence from all quarters of the empire. This service was not confined to men alone; intelligent women were also taken into it. This women's section was a very important one, since much of the secret information from remote and hidden corners was secured through its agency.

The author of the *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh* tells us that "Ahmad Shah knew the most hidden secrets of the people closely connected with secret things and mentioned them casually at times of necessity. It was this vastness of information and his unusual but timely revelations that common people from extreme wonder interpreted as miracles of Ahmad Shah." He, however, does not mention the name of the Secret Intelligence Department.

The chief of the detectives was called the *Harkarah bashi,* while the central office of the news-service was known as *Jama' khabar* with the *Darogha-i-Daftar-i-Akhbar* at its head.

Zabt Begi bashi, the Superintendent of Public Security, was also known as Overseer of Confiscations. The exact functions of this official are not known. As custodian of public safety and security, he should have been a superintendent of police. But the department of police and the post of *Kotwal* are not known to have existed separately during the reign of Ahmad Shah. There is no mention in any of the records of his time of any such officials as *Amir-i-Shurat* (chief of the police or Prefect), *Shahna* (a provost, head of the police),

Asas (chief of the night patrols), *Mir Shab* (Night-master), *Mir Shabgir* (head of the night watchmen), *Kotwal* (police inspector or magistrate), etc. The duties of police seem to have been entrusted to military detachments stationed in cities and towns.

In addition to these, there were a number of other petty officials such as *Sandooqdar bashi* (keeper of the royal wardrobe and jewels), *Peshkhidmatgar bashi* (head of the household servants), *Qabuchi bashi* (gatekeeper of the royal apartments), etc.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In 1757, after the annexation of Sirhind and the appointment of Prince Taimur to the government of Lahore, the Afghan empire had the largest area under its domain. Its frontier to the north was defined by the Amu *darya* (the Oxus river) and the mountains of Kafiristan, and to the south by the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Oman, to the west by Khurasan, Iran and Kerman; and to the east by Sirhind and the mountains of Tibet, all of which were secured to Ahmad Shah by treaties or by conquest. Of course, the Indian provinces of Sirhind, Lahore and Multan were lost to the Sikhs towards the end of his life and the eastern frontier was pushed westward to the Indus.

Territorial divisions. For purposes of local government the country was divided into *Vilayats* and *Hakumat-i-Ala.* These were almost identical terms, meaning a province, with the only difference that a *vilayat* had a larger territorial area and greater political importance than a *hakumat-i-ala.* They might be compared to a governor's province and a commissioner's province in the old political set-up of India. The following were the divisions of the country:

Vilayat	*Hakumat-i-Ala*
Qandahar	Farah
Herat	Maimnah
Kabul	Baluchistan
Mazar-i-Sharif	Ghazni
Khurasan	Lughman

Badakhshan	Peshawar
Panjab (Lahore)	Dera Ismail Khan
Kashmir	Dera Ghazi Khan
	Shikarpur
	Siwi
	Sindh
	Chhachh Hazara
	Leih
	Multan
	Sirhind

A *vilayat* was divided into *mahals,* which again were sub-divided into towns and villages. The governor of a *vilayat,* a *hakumat,* or of a *mahal,* called *hākim,* was appointed by the Shah under royal *farman;* so also the commander of troops called *Amir-i-lashkar* or Sardar. The subordinate officials were appointed by local governors or by ministers of the central government, sometimes under the Shah's orders. The *hākim* of a *vilayat* was assisted by one or two deputies called *naib* or *peshkar.* At times, specially when he was a Durrani, the provincial governor was also the commander of the troops stationed in the province. Ordinarily, the commander of the provincial troops was directly under the commander-in-chief of the government forces.

The provincial governor of a *vilayat,* who was considered to be the viceroy or representative of the king and was called *naib-ul-hakumat,* was practically independent within his territories. All that the central government expected of him was the maintenance of peace and order in the province, and the regular payment of state dues into the central treasury after deducting the expenses of the province. He had, however, no power of awarding death sentence or of reducing the strength of troops allotted to his province. A governor was removable at pleasure except when he had contracted for the revenue, in which case he was left till the end of the year. The *sardar,* or the commander of troops, was also removable at pleasure, but it was usual with the Shah to keep such offices in particular families. In the case of a royal prince being the governor of a *vilayat,* he had no extra powers except those of *khutba* and *sikka.*

In addition to the *Amir-i-lashkar,* the following officials worked under the governors in provinces :

Qazi, the judge, administrator of law
Qaladar, the commandant of the fort and its garrison
Daftri, the keeper of the civilian office
Bajgir, Mudir-i-gumarkat, the revenue collector
Mir Akhwar, Mudir-i-naqliya, the superintendent of stables, transport officer
Mir Ab, the harbour master or superintendent of rivers
Mamur-i-Khalisajat, the commissioner of royal estates
Mastaufi, the auditor of accounts
Kalantar-i-Shahr, the mayor of the town

The central government exercised very little control over provincial governors except that the finance department occasionally called for statements of accounts, checked and compared the various items of income and expenditure, saw that government dues were regularly deposited into the central treasury, and called for explanations in cases of discrepancies.

In towns and villages the administration was carried on by local chiefs, called *Khan, Malik, Sarkarda* or *Sultan,* on behalf of the provincial governors. Like a feudal lord, a *khan* was practically independent in his place. He collected his revenue in whatever way he could. *Begar* (forced labour) and *suyursat* (contributions in kind) were common. The people, however, had three ways of escape from the tyranny of a *khan.*

1. People could refuse to accept the decision of a *khan* and appeal to higher judicial officers at the capital of the province.
2. In case of disagreement with a *khan,* they could shift themselves to the village of a rival *khan.*
3. In case of excessive taxes and tyrannical extortions, they could complain to the governor of the province, to a minister of the central government or to the Shah himself.

Individual action on the part of a complainant seldom had any effect upon the *khans* who wielded considerable influence with the higher officials of the provinces. It was

only when agitation against a *khan* assumed the proportions of a mass movement that it moved the provincial or the central government. The result of such an agitation generally was the dismissal of the offending *khan* and his replacement by a better man. The new appointment, of course, took place with the approval and consent of the people.

Some of the governors of *vilayats* and *hakumats* during the reign of Ahmad Shah were :

Darwesh Ali Khan	Herat
Shah Rukh Mirza, grandson of Nadir Shah	Mashhad
Abbas Quli Khan Bayat	Nishapur
Nasir Khan Baluch	Baluchistan
Nur Muhammed Khan entitled Shah Nawaz	Sindh
Shuja Khan Abdali	Multan
Prince Taimur	Panjab (Lahore)
	Herat
Prince Suleiman	Qandahar
Khwaja Abdullah Khan	Kashmir
Zain Khan Mohmand	Sirhind
Musa Khan	Dera Ismail Khan
Ashraf Khan Ghalzei	Qalat

APPENDIX II

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

True to the genius and traditions of the Afghan nation, Ahmad Shah was essentially a soldier. Much of his attention was, therefore, devoted to his army, which was the mainstay of his political power. He had great regard for his soldiers whom he considered to be partners of his glory and greatness. "I am also one of them," said he on one occasion, "and it is by their unanimity and with the help of their swords that I have been raised to this position."

ARMY HEADQUARTERS

SIPAH-SALAR

At the head of army was *Sipah Salar,* the commander-in-chief, who, as minister for war and defence, was next only to the king. He was responsible for the organization, equipment and training of the forces in peace, and for planning and conducting operations during war. The welfare of soldiers, both in peace and war, was his chief concern, because loyalty and discipline of the army depended mostly on the attention that was paid by officers to the comforts of their men. The *Sipah-Salar,* who was also sometimes called *Sardar-i-Sardaran,* was assisted by a number of deputies who looked after the different branches and various departments of the army at the headquarters known as *Daftar-i-Nizam.*

The manufacture of arms and ammunition, collection of clothing and food stores, payment of salaries and maintenance of accounts, etc., were some of the functions of the *Daftar-i-Nizam.*

SUYURSATCHI BASHI

Suyursatchi bashi was the quartermaster-general who looked after the purchase or collection, and storage and supply of provisions for men and horses and other beasts of burden.

Qurchi bashi—Director of Arsenals. He was in charge of the munitions of war. His department, called *Qur khana*, maintained factories for the manufacture of arms and ammunition and made arrangements for their storage and supply in different parts of the country. Ahmad Shah took personal interest in ammunition and gun factories. He had established a separate colony for this purpose inside the city of Qandahar. The site of the powder magazine, situated in the neighbourhood of Top-khana and Istabl-i-Shahi, is still known as Barood-khana.

The Shah was himself quite skilful in the manufacture of guns and he actually manufactured a gun in 1751 during the siege of Nishapur. This gun, it is said, fired balls weighing 12½ Kabul *seers* and contributed substantially to the conquest of the place. Two other guns of greater calibre and length, capable of throwing balls of 40 lbs each, were cast at Lahore in 1757 by Shah Nazir under the orders of the Shah and the directions of Shah Wali Khan. One of these guns, the Zamzama, later on known as *Bhangian-wali Top* after the name of its captor, Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi, is standing in front of the Central Museum at Lahore. It was made of a mixture of copper and brass. It is 14 feet and 4½ inches in length, exclusive of the casemate, the aperture of the bore being 9½ inches It was used by the Shah in the battle of Panipat in 1761, and later on by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in a number of his campaigns. The other gun was lost in the river Chenab on its way to Kabul after the battle of Panipat.[1]

The department of transport was under *Mir Akhwar bashi*, attached to the army headquarters. During military operations, the *Urdu bashi* was also attached to the army and placed under the *Sipah Salar*.

REGULAR ARMY (ASKAR-I-MUNAZZAM)

Ahmad Shah's army was divided into Regular army (*Askar-i-Munazzam*) and Irregular tribal levies (*Askar-i-Ghair Munazzam*). The Regular force constituted one-third

1. For more details, see Syad Muhammad Latif's *Lahore*, 383-85.

of the entire army, while the Irregulars, also called *fauj-i-kushada* (open army) or *khwanin-sawaran* (tribal horse), constituted the remaining two-thirds. The Regular force was divided into three branches, cavalry, infantry and artillery, while the Irregulars were mostly horsemen, with a negligible minority of footmen.

Recruitment to the Regular army was voluntary and for life. A regular soldier was paid both in coin and kind; the arms, horse and transport equipment were supplied by the government; only the price of horse was recovered from him in small instalments. He was required to make his own arrangements for his food and for the fodder for his horse. Except in war time, three months' leave at home was allowed to a soldier, for the remaining period, he stayed with his regiment in the cantonment busy with his military training and practice.

Most of the Regular army was stationed at the capital. Only a portion of it was detailed for duty to the provinces or other centres of government.

The troops at the capital were divided into *Ghulam-i-shahi* (royal cavalry), *Kashakchian* (bodyguards), *Qalawur* (scouts), etc. The *Ghulam-khana* (body of the royal cavalry), formed by Ahmad Shah, consisted of different foreigners established in the country and of the troops of Nadir Shah and other Persians and Qizilbashes who had attached themselves to his government. The Qizilbash troops formed one-third of the *Ghulam-khana* and were the best part of the whole. They were more faithful than the Afghans in civil wars, as they had no tribal connections and party alliances in the country.

Peshkhidmatgars, who were the immediate personal servants of the Shah, were usually drawn from amongst the *ghulams.*

CAVALRY

Three-fourths of Ahmad Shah's army were cavalry. Their arms were matchlocks and swords, although some of them carried carbines and spears. The cavalry in attendance on

the Shah had the distinction of wearing mail-coats. The entire cavalry was free to carry shields, daggers, axes, etc.

The camel riders, who were not many, were called *Jumma-za-sawar*.

In times of emergency and in crossing rivers, the cavalrymen were required to carry footmen.

INFANTRY

One-fourth of the Regular army was infantry. They carried matchlocks and swords, but they were free to use other arms also.

ARTILLERY

Artillery was the strongest branch of the Shah's army. For numerical counting, it was included in cavalry. Two-thirds of it were equipped with heavy guns, while the remaining one-third had light guns. It was the superior heavy artillery of the Shah that carried the day against much larger numbers of the Maratha troops in the battle of Panipat.

The heavy guns were drawn by horses. The light ones, known as *zamburak* or *shaheen* and *shahang*, were carried singly or in twos on camels. They could be easily moved from one position to another and could throw their deadly fire into the ranks of the enemy wherever needed from the backs of camels without having to be lowered to the ground. The Shah had as many as seven hundred of these camel swivels in the first year of his reign; this number must have considerably increased during the next twenty-five years.

The commander of artillery was *Topchi bashi*, and the office was held by Rehman Khan Barakzei. His residence in Qandahar stands to this day in the Top-khana quarters of the city.

ELEPHANT CORPS

The Shah had also a small corps of elephants. The elephants were generally used for transport purposes, but they were also used in battle to break the lines of the enemy and to cause confusion in their ranks. At times they also carried artillery guns.

FORMATION AND STRENGTH

The formation and strength of army units was as follows:

One *dalgi* (section)	10 men
One *tawalli* (platoon)	10 *dalgi-ha* = 100 men
One *kundak* (regiment)	10 *tawalli* = 1000 men
One *qita'* or *mufraza* (brigade)	2 or more *kundaks*
Officers—Cavalry and Infantry	
Dah bashi or *Dalgi-mishar*	section commander
Yuz bashi or *Tawalli-mishar*	platoon commander
Mang bashi, Beg bashi or *Kundak-mishar*	regiment commander
Amir-i-lashkar	brigade commander
Sipah Salar or *Sardar-i-Sardaran*	commander-in-chief
Officers—Artillery	
Zamburakchi, shahanchi or *shahangchi*	artillery-man or gunner
Shahanchi bashi or *jazair-chi bashi*	artillery officer
Topchi bashi or *Mir-i-Atish*	chief artillery commandant

TRANSPORT CORPS

The transport corps consisted of horses, mules, camels and bullocks, and also of a few elephants. It was commanded by *Mir Akhwar bashi,* who has been mentioned under Civil Administration: Smaller Officials.

IRREGULAR ARMY (ASKAR-I-GHAIR MUNAZZAM)

Two-thirds of the total army of Ahmad Shah were Irregulars, consisting of tribal levies, known as *Fauj-i-kushada* (like the *ghor-charha* force of the Sikh Sardars in the Panjab), and *khwaneen sawaran* (tribal cavalry), sometimes called *lashkar-i-qaumi* (the national army). Three-fourths of this force were cavalry, and only one-fourth of them was infantry.

The Irregular army may be divided into three categories: (1) Armed detachments of men who joined the Shah's army for the duration of war from particular parts of the country according to numbers allotted to them. On the conclusion of war, they went back to their homes. In lieu of their service, land revenue of that particular tract was remitted for one year. For example, the revenue due in kind from the Marwat tribe living on the banks of the river Karam was 240 camels a year. Under the above system, they were required to furnish during war time only 200 armed *sawars* for the Shah's army. (2) Detachments of tribal levies sent by tribal chiefs during war according to a fixed number. After war, the men of these levies returned to their homes and old occupations. Except when actually on active service, these men had nothing to do with the government or its officials. It was only their chiefs who dealt with the government and received annuity from it in cash and kind in lieu of the pay and expenses of the men raised by them. The tribal chiefs or commanders of detachments received their compensation in the form of landed *jagirs* and/or fixed cash allowances, of which regular accounts were maintained by central and provincial governments. (3) Detachments of *khwaneen sawaran*, or tribal cavalry, who, like regular government troops, were employed on the protection of frontiers and collection of revenues, looked after the government stores and performed other police duties with local governments. They were regularly enrolled, their horses were branded and their arms were examined at regular intervals. The finance department maintained accounts of their pay in cash and dues in kind, and adjusted them with the *jagir* accounts of their chiefs or commanders.

ORGANIZATION OF THE IRREGULAR LEVIES

As soon as the Shah's *farman* in respect of a person having been appointed a commander of troops, giving the number of men allotted to him, had been issued, he—whether a prince, a minister, an official or a tribal khan—proceeded with the enrolment of his men from amongst his relatives, friends, neighbours and servants, equipped them with arms and

horses, and appointed junior commanders and officers. The price of the horse was gradually deducted from the pay of the *sawar*. The arms were considered as given to him on loan. Sometimes, the price of arms was also recovered in instalments. The government supplied arms to the chief commander according to his indent and recovered the cost in instalments from the funds or *jagirs* assigned to him.

The strength of irregular units varied from five hundred to several hundred, and, at times, went up to several thousand. If a unit commander had a small number of men, he was known as *sarkardah* of . . . *sawars*, if average, a *khan* of . . . *sawars;* but if he had a large (perhaps, more than a thousand horse) strength under his command, he was called a *sardar* of . . . *sawars* The commander of a unit of 100 *sawars* or more had the right of flying a banner and beating a drum.

The internal organization of Irregular levies was exactly the same as that of Regular troops A section (*dalqi*) as usual had ten men, commanded by a *dah bashi;* a *tawalli*, or a platoon, called *bairaq*, had 10 *dalqi-ha* commanded by a *bairaqdar* (troop commander), etc. The allotment of men to a *dalqi*, of *dalqi-ha* to a *bairaq*, etc., was fixed and permanent. Although a unit commander was permanent and seniormost in his own unit, he was under usual military discipline and had to obey the orders of the senior commanders to whom his unit was attached.

During peace time, the commanders of irregular units were under the orders of the *naib-ul-hakumat* of the *vilayat* where they were detailed for duty, and under the orders of the minister for interior and minister for war in their respective spheres. During war time, they were under the command of the commander-in-chief. Whenever two or more units were put together in some active operations, the commander of the largest unit assumed the senior command.

STRENGTH OF THE ARMY

At the time of his proclamation as King of Afghanistan at Qandahar, Ahmad Shah had an army of sixteen thousand with him. It increased to forty thousand during the first year of his reign. During his expeditions to India, the number of his troops is given from twelve thousand to eighty thousand,

while it is stated to have been from seventy thousand to one hundred and twenty thousand during the Khurasan operations. But these figures cannot help us in determining the exact strength of his army at any stage. He had a vast empire to manage. He could not have, therefore, taken the whole of his army at any time to any external theatre of war, however important. But if we make an allowance for exaggerations in these figures and reconcile them with the number of troops left in the country for internal security, we may not be far from truth in accepting the approximate total strength of Ahmad Shah's army in time of later wars at one hundred and twenty thousand men all told. Two-thirds of these, about eighty thousand, must have been *fauj-i-kushada* (Irregulars), and the remaining forty thousand, *Askar-i-munazzam* (the Regulars). Three-fourths of the total strength, about ninety thousand, may be taken as cavalry, including artillery, and the remaining as infantry.

PAY OF THE TROOPS

In the absence of any other records being available, we have but to accept the arguments advanced and conclusions drawn by Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar in his *Ahmad Shah Baba*. He puts the pay of a *sawar* at approximately Rs. 12 a month and of an infantry soldier at Rs. 6 a month. Nothing is known about the amount paid to the unit commanders, big or small, or about the basis on which assignments of land and cash were made to the tribal chiefs for the fighting levies furnished by them for the Shah's army. Ferrier tells us that the Shah personally attended to the payment of his troops and "he gave his troops their pay in person."

Appendix III

MINTS AND COINS[1]

The first coin in the name of Ahmad Shah was struck at Qandahar immediately after his coronation. It had the following couplet inscribed on it:

حکم شد از قادر بیچوں باحمد بادشاہ ٥
سکہ زن بر سیم و زر از اوج ماہی تا بماہ ٥

Hukm shud az qadir-i-bechun ba-Ahmad badshah,
Sikkah zan bar sim-o-zar az auj-i-mahi ta ba-mah.
"Command came from God, the Inscrutable, to Ahmad the King, strike coin on silver and gold from the top of the fish (at the bottom of the sea) to the moon"

With the extension of his dominions, coins were struck at the seats of different *vilayats,* or provincial governments, in addition to the capital at Qandahar.

There were as many as twenty mints, both in Afghanistan and India, where coins were struck in the name of Ahmad Shah. Excepting Herat, which was a Persian town till it was seized by Ahmad Shah, all other places had Mughal mints at one time or the other. Qandahar and Kabul were the principal cities of Afghanistan. Kashmir was conquered by the Shah. Bhakkar, Peshawar, Thatta, Dera (Dera Ghazi Khan), Derajat (Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Fateh Khan, etc.) and Sindh were in the territory ceded to Nadir Shah. Atak (Attock), Lahore and Multan were in the Panjab and fell to Ahmad Shah by conquest, as also Sirhind, the northern-most point of Hind or Hindustan. The remaining mints were in

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1. For this appendix, I have mostly drawn on R. B. Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore,* Vol. III, *Coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty,* Oxford, 1934. For a more detailed study, the reader is referred to this very useful work and to the works of Ahmad Ali Kohzad, M. Longworth Dames, C. M. Fraehn, Dr. White King, Marsden and E. G. Rodgers on numismatics given in the bibliography.

India proper, and the coins were struck there to commemorate the Indian invasions of Ahmad Shah.

Like Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah issued coins at the Mughal capital at Delhi which more than once lay prostrate at his feet. Five mints at which coins were issued in the name of Ahmad Shah lay to the east of the river Jamuna. These were situated at Aonla (Anwala), Bareli, Farrukhabad, Muradabad and Najibabad and belonged to the Muslim allies of the Shah in India.

Coins were also struck in the name of Prince Taimur while he was his father's viceroy (*naib-ul-hakumat* or *nizam* or governor) in the Panjab (including Multan), the Derajat (Dera Isma'il Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Fateh Khan) and Sindh. His inscription was:

بعالم یافت سکّہ تیمور شاہ نظام
بحکم خدا و رسُولِ انام

Ba-alam ya't sikkah-i-Taimur Shah Nizam,
Ba-hukm-i-khuda-o-Rasul-i-anam.

"The stamp (or coin) of Taimur Shah gained rule in the world,
"By command of God and of the Prophet of Mankind."

The honorific epithets of the various mints have been mentioned along with the mint-names in their respective places.

Ahmad Shah remained faithful to one couplet throughout his reign. On the obverse there was the Persian couplet or a portion of it often accompanied by the Hijri date, while the reverse exhibited the mint, with the honorific epithet, if any, and the regnal date, sometimes accompanied by the Mughal formula *San jalus maimanat manus*. Neither *laqab* (surname) nor *kuniyat* (patronymic) was shown on the issues of Ahmad Shah.[2]

2. The first Indian coin of Ahmad Shah, according to the *Husain Shahi*, 19, and Latif's *History of the Panjab*, 215, struck at Lahore in January-February, 1748, however, had the following inscription:

دُرِّ دُرّانِ احمد شاہ بادشاہ
ضرب دارالسلطنت لاہور
جلوس میمنت مانوس احد

In March, 1767, the Shah was pleased to grant, on the recommendation of Shah Wali Khan, the government of Sirhind to *Raja-i-Rajgan* Amar Singh of Patiala, who, in grateful acknowledgment of his favours, struck coins in the name of Ahmad Shah and used his couplet on the obverse. At the same time Raja Amar Singh added 'Hamezei', the name of his patron Shah Wali Khan's tribe, to his own name in the coin. Ahmad Shah's couplet has been appearing on the money of Patiala, Jind and Malerkotla states till recent times.

During the reign of Ahmad Shah, Afghanistan was flooded with Indian gold and silver in the shape of booty, tribute and other contributions. The Shah's coins, therefore, were usually of good metal and weight. The normal gold coin called *ashrafi* or *mohar* weighed 168 grains standard, while the silver rupee weighed 178 grain standard. Copper issues of Ahmad Shah corresponded roughly with the *dam* of 320 grains; the issues at Multan and in Kashmir were lighter in weight.

AHMAD SHAHI (QANDAHAR)—ASHRAF-UL-BALAD

Qandahar was the capital of Afghanistan during the reign of Ahmad Shah. He always looked upon it as the original home of the Abdalis, who were pleased to be restored by Nadir Shah from their exile in Herat to their ancestral lands here. Ahmad Shah was crowned here and here he built his new capital called Ahmad Shahi. It was here that he built a mausoleum for himself, and it is here that he lies buried. No specimen of the first coin struck on the occasion of his coronation has so far been discovered. The coin might have been struck in the Royal Camp (*Rikab-i-Mubarak*) and still awaits the labours of some archaeologist to unearth it from some ancient mound or from some earthen pot lying buried deep under some ruins. Whitehead is of the opinion that Ahmad Shah "did not issue coins from Qandahar till he could inscribe the name Ahmad Shahi upon his money ten years after his accession. The earliest issue is dated 1171 (A.H.), 11 (regnal year), three years before the battle of Panipat. The initial gold coinage consists of a thin broad piece equivalent to the Persian *ashrafi* in weight; other dates listed in gold are 22 and 23. The silver coins are of the

full Indian rupee standard and run from the eleventh year to the end of the reign."

AONLA (ANWALA)

Aonla is a town in Ruhilkhand in the district of Bareli, U.P., India. Coins were struck here by Najib-ud-Daulah Ruhila, a devoted ally of Ahmad Shah, in 1173 and 1174 when the Shah was in India and defeated the Marathas in the battle of Panipat.

ATAK (ATTOCK)

Atak is the well-known fortified town on the left bank of the river Indus, 46 miles east of Peshawar and 42 miles west of Taxila. The gold and silver coins struck there from 9th to 22nd regnal year were of normal type and full weight.

BARELI

A district town in Ruhilkhand in the U.P., India. Like Aonla, here also silver coins were struck by Najib-ud-Daulah in 1173 and 1174, evidently to commemorate the victories of Ahmad Shah over the Marathas.

BHAKKAR

Bhakkar is an island-stronghold planted in mid-stream between Rohri and Sakkhar (Sukkur) on the Indus. Gold coins struck at Bhakkar are a few, but there is a full sequence of silver rupees, both being of full weight. It had also coins of heavier weight.

DELHI (SHAHJAHANABAD)

Delhi was then the capital of Mughal India. The Shah was at Delhi on two occasions: first in 1756-57, when the city was devastated at the instigation of Mughlani Begam and when the Shah married a Mughal princess and returned to Afghanistan having installed his son Prince Taimur as governor of Lahore, and secondly in 1173 and 1174 A.H. when he was pitched against the Marathas whom he defeated in the historic battle of Panipat on January 14, 1761. On both occasions, coins were struck in the name of Ahmad Shah. In

1759-61, the Shah spent about fifteen months in the neighbourhood of Delhi. During this period coins were struck twice. The 1173 A.H. coins were struck in the spring of the year 1760 A.D., and the 1174 A.H. coins early in 1761 A.D., after the victory of Panipat.

DERA (DERA GHAZI KHAN)

The mint of Dera was at the town of Dera Ghazi Khan. It was an important mint, and gold and silver coins were in good style and of full weight. Copper coins were also struck there, but their weight varied.

DERAJAT

The alluvial tract between the Suleman Range and the Indus is known as the territory of the Derajat. A *Dera* literally means a settlement. The Derajat (plural of Dera) tract takes its name from three Deras, Dera Ghazi Khan, in the lower region, and Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Fateh Khan in the upper region. The Derajat coins are rare and are of inferior execution and style. There is a diversity in the reverse legend. Only gold and silver coins are available. Copper coins of this mint remain undiscovered so far.

FARRUKHABAD

Farrukhabad is a district town in the Uttar Pradesh, India. It belonged to the Bangash Afghans, and it was ruled by Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash *Ghalib-Jang* from 1163 A.H. to 1185 A.H. He was an ally of Ahmad Shah and fought in the battle of Panipat. It was he who issued the coin in the name of Ahmad Shah. The coins, both silver and gold, are broad handsome pieces in charateristic style.

HERAT (DAR-US-SALTANAT)

Herat is the capital of a *vilayat* of the same name in the north-west corner of Afghanistan. It has both strategic and commercial importance for the country; and, for its fertility, it has been called "the granary and garden of Central Asia." For centuries it had been a part of the Persian empire. Ahmad Shah seized it for Afghanistan, of which it continues to be

an important provincial city. Both gold and silver coins were struck here, but only spasmodically, as the Herat coins are very rare. Though of full weight, they were inferior in style.

KABUL (DAR-UL-MULK ALSO DAR-US-SALTANAT)

The capital of Afghanistan was shifted from Qandahar to Kabul by Taimur Shah. The Kabul coins of Ahmad Shah are full of variety and interest for the numismatists and are found both in gold and silver. The gold coin of the tenth year is a fine piece of true Durrani type. Silver rupees are available in plenty and in excellent series from 1170 A.H. (10th Regnal year) to the end of Ahmad Shah's reign.

KASHMIR (SRINAGAR) DAR-US-SALTANAT

Kashmir was conquered by Ahmad Shah and annexed to his dominions. Coins bearing the mint name Kashmir were struck at Srinagar. Gold coin is very rare; the silver ones are by no means common either and they weigh three or four grains less than the full Mughal standard of 178 grains. Copper coins were also current. Sometimes they were just lumps of metal of different weights making it difficult for the numismatists to deduce any standard.

LAHORE

Gold and silver coins were struck at Lahore in 1161 A.H., 1748 A.D., after the flight of the Mughal governor Shah Nawaz Khan and the entry of Ahmad Shah into the city on January 12. The second gold coin dated 1175 A.H. must have been struck at Lahore after the great Ghalughara of February 5, 1762 A.D., when the Shah stayed in the Panjab for the whole of the year and left for Afghanistan towards the middle of December. Silver rupees, however, have a more extensive range and are spread over ten issues from 1161 to 1180 A.H., there being no issues for 1162-64, 1166-69, 1171-72 and 1179 A.H. During these gaps, money was issued at Lahore by the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah, Prince Taimur and the Sikhs. The coins of Prince Taimur as *Nizam* or governor of Lahore are dated 1170, 1171 and 1173 A.H.

A Sikh rupee minted at Lahore in 1823 Samvat Bk., 1766 A.D., corresponding to 1179-80 A.H., inaugurates, according to Whitehead, a regular issue by the Sikh commonwealth.

So far 2 gold coins and 18 silver rupees of Ahmad Shah issued at Lahore have been recorded.

MULTAN (DAR-UL-AMAN)

Multan, which was annexed by Ahmad Shah in 1165 A.H., 1752 A.D., had a very old mint. Eight gold coins, 19 silver rupees and 2 copper *paisas* are recorded to have been issued in the name of Ahmad Shah, in addition to 5 gold *mohars*, and 37 silver rupees of Prince Taimur as *Nizam*. Multan had fallen to the Sikhs in 1764 A.D., but they seem to have held it only for a short time. Prince Taimur remained in full possession of the mint for 16 years from 1170 to 1185 A.H. (1756-1771 A.D.), and he continued striking money without a break In 1772, the Bhangi Sardars, Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh, sons of Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi, conquered Multan and converted it into a Sikh possession. The mint at Multan was, therefore, closed to the Durranis for some time, and no more coins were struck there during the reign of Ahmad Shah.

MURADABAD

Muradabad is a district town in the Uttar Pradesh, India. Silver rupees were struck here in 1173 A.H. (1760) in the name of Ahmad Shah by Najib-ud-Daulah when the Shah was encamped in that part of the country during the summer rains.

NAJIBABAD

Najibabad is a town in the Bijnor district, U.P., India. It takes its name from Nawab Najib-ud-Daulah, the well-known Ruhila chief. Coins were struck here in the name of Ahmad Shah in 1180 A.H., when the Shah invaded India for the eighth time.

PATIALA

Maharaja Amar Singh of Patiala, grandson of Ala Singh, struck coins in the name of Ahmad Shah with the Shah's

inscription in 1767, when he received the title of *Raja-i-Rajgan*. These coins never gained wide circulation. They were, in fact, never meant for general circulation and were struck only on the Dussehra and Diwali festivals or on other special occasions right up to the reign of the present Maharaja of Patiala. The latest available coin bears the date 1994 Bk., March 1938, the first year of the reign of Maharaja Yadavindra Singh. Although the coins were struck at Patiala, the name of the mint mentioned on the reverse was Sirhind—*Zarb Sahrind* (meaning 'struck at Sirhind').

PESHAWAR

The Peshawar coins of Ahmad Shah are on the Mughal model, with neat and effective style, and the legend well-centred. 2 gold coins, 20 silver rupees and 1 copper piece are recorded by Whitehead. The gold coins belong to the first and ninth regnal years, while the silver rupees spread from 1161 A.H. to 1186 A.H., the year of Ahmad Shah's death.

QANDAHAR

(See *AHMAD SHAHI*, p. 367)

RIKAB OR *RIKAB-I-MUBARAK*

Rikab Mubarak literally means "the august stirrup", and refers to the camp mint of Ahmad Shah. Money was seldom minted in the royal camp. Only one gold coin is recorded and it bears the date Muharram, 1173 A.H. In the absence of any day-to-day record of the events of Ahmad Shah, it is difficult to determine the event it commemorates. Was it the victory of Ahmad Shah over Naseer Khan Baluch or the despatch of a force under Jahan Khan against the Marathas in India? Whitehead might be correct when he says that this coin "must have been struck to commemorate the New Year's Day of the year A. H. 1173." It was not the usual practice with Ahmad Shah to commemorate New Year's Days with the issue of coins. It is the only coin in the entire series of Ahmad Shah which bears the name of the month. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that this coin was struck by

Ahmad Shah on Muharram 1, 1173 A.H., the first New Year's Day after his victory over Nawab Naseer Khan Baluch of Kalat. The same day Sardar Jahan Khan might have been despatched to India to punish the Marathas. He left the royal presence towards the end of August, 1759. The exact date is not mentioned. It might have been the 1st of Muharram, 1173 A.H., which fell on August 25, 1759.

SARHIND (SAHRIND OR SIRHIND)

Sirhind is now in the Panjab (India). Four gold mohars and seven silver rupees are catalogued by Whitehead. Sirhind fell into the hands of Ahmad Shah several times during his Indian invasions. The coin bearing the date 1161 A.H. must have been struck when he occupied the fort of Sirhind in March, 1748, during his first Indian invasion. The issues of 1174 (regnal year 14) and 1174 (regnal year 15) were struck before and after the battle of Panipat. The coin of 1176 A.H. belongs to the Shah's sixth invasion of India when he defeated the Sikhs in the great holocaust of February 5, 1762, and spent the whole of the year in the province of Lahore

SRINAGAR (KASHMIR)

(See *KASHMIR*, p. 370)

THATTA

Thatta is an old capital and port of Sindh. It was a prominent silver mint of the Mughals. The coins struck here in the name of Ahmad Shah were of an inferior style.

Appendix IV

AHMAD SHAH AND THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN INDIA

The attitude of the English East India Company towards Ahmad Shah Durrani during the years prior to 1760 had been one of uncertainty. They had followed the policy of 'watch and wait', and had remained almost indifferent to his activities in India up to the battle of Panipat. When Mir Jaffar Ali Khan of Bengal was deposed by the Company and his son-in-law Mir Qasim was appointed Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa on October 20, 1760 (Rabi-ul-Awwal 10, 1174), Mr. Vansittart, the successor of Colonel Clive,[1] had communicated the change to His Afghan Majesty. The Shah, on his part, had desired him and Mir Qasim "to be obedient to the will of (Emperor) Shah Alam" on whose behalf they were then supposed to be acting.

After the battle of Panipat, January 14, 1761, the Shah confirmed Shah Alam II as the Emperor of India and issued *farmans* to the various ruling princes of the country and to the English to recognize him as such. Mr. Vansittart wrote to the Shah on March 1, 1761, saying, "His Majesty's faithful servant (referring to himself) who has succeeded Sabit Jang (Col. Clive) is obedient to the will of Shah Alam, who has been brought into the fort of Patna, (and) is ready to accompany him (to Delhi)."[2]

In the meantime, Emperor Shah Alam had also issued a *farman* in February, 1761, to the Governor of Bengal to have the *khutba* read and coins struck in his name. To this

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1. Clive resigned the governorship of Bengal in January, 1760, and was temporarily succeeded by John Z. Holwell (January 28 to July 27, 1760), followed by Mr. Henry Vansittart who assumed office on July 27.—Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 206.

According to Malleson's *Lord Clive*, he made over charge to Mr. Holwell on February 15, 1760. pp. 136-37.

2. CPC. i. No. 981.

Vansittart replied on March 5: "His Majesty can judge from the loyalty of Major Carnac his feelings, and in fact those of every Englishman towards His Majesty. They are all his devoted servants. From his *farman* (the writer, Mr. Vansittart) understands that he wishes him to have the *khutba* read and *sikkahs* coined. This matter being of great importance, it would be right first to ask *Shahan-Shah* Abdali and the *Umara* of Delhi to do so lest they should be displeased. If the addressee acts in this manner, his faithful servants in Behar, Bengal and Orissa will then read the *khutbah* and coin *sikkahs*."[3]

The Emperor also discussed the question of the *khutba* and *sikkah* with Mir Qasim when he paid him a visit on March 11, 1761, 4th Sha'ban 1174 A.H. Qasim made a reference to Mr. Vansittart on this point to know the wishes of the British Governor who directed him on March, 19: "As soon as a *farman* from *Shahan Shah* Abdali arrives informing the Nawab that *sikkahs* can be struck and the *khutba* read, His Excellency should act accordingly. The gentlemen at the factories will also be told to have the new money circulated."[4]

In his letter of March 26 to Ahmad Shah, with a copy to Mir Qasim, Mr. Vansittart re-affirmed his loyalty and obedience to Emperor Shah Alam and assured the Shah that "if it should be *Shahan-Shah* (Ahmad Shah)'s pleasure, he (Shah Alam) will be escorted by some troops to Delhi." The Governor at the same time raised no objection to Mir Qasim's friendly correspondence with the Shah, telling him on April 17, after the Shah's departure for Afghanistan, that the "petition to the Shah and a letter to Shuja-ud-Daulah may be forwarded as they contain nothing but assurances of friendship." But, as it appears, these were all dilly-dally-

3. CPC. i. No. 991. While approving of the fidelity the Governor professed towards Shah Alam II in his letter to Ahmad Shah Durrani, Mir Qasim observed in his letter of March 22, 1761, to the Governor that "the Governor's letter to the *Shahan Shah* was not written in the proper form".—CPC. ii. No. 1032.

4. CPC. i. No. 1026.

ing red-tape tactics of the English diplomat with a view to impressing upon the Emperor the hollowness of his position in hands other than their own. The Afghan prime minister, Shah Wali Khan, also saw through the game. In spite of the Shah's clear instructions to Mir Qasim and Mr. Vansittart to be obedient to the will of the Emperor and Mr. Vansittart's own professions and assurances, as stated above, of loyalty, fidelity and obedience to the Emperor, Shah Alam's *farman* regarding *khutba* and *sikkah* had been disregarded and not acted upon; and a good deal of time had been wasted in unnecessary technicalities. Writing to Vansittart in the month of May, Shah Wali Khan informed him that "*sikkahs* in the name of Shah Alam have been issued at Delhi and other places, and His Majesty and the Commanders are displeased because they have not been issued in Bengal." This served as a warning to the English governor, and he directed Nawab Nazim Mir Qasim to comply with the Emperor's orders to have *khutba* read and coin struck in his name.[5]

For the next six and a half years the English in India were almost free from anxiety as far as Ahmad Shah was concerned. In 1762 and in 1764-65, he was so much entangled with the Sikhs in the Panjab that he had no time to turn his attention to the affairs either of the Emperor Shah Alam or of the Ruhilas, the Marathas or the Jats. In the meantime Mir Qasim had been deposed by the English in 1763 and the old Nawab Mir Jaffar restored to the *Subedari* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

The battle of Baxar in 1764 and the surrender of Shuja-ud-Daulah laid Oudh at the feet of the East India Company and brought the Mughal Emperor as a suppliant to the English camp. Under the fiction of the grant of the *diwani* from Emperor Shah Alam II in 1765, the English merchants became a territorial power in the country, and their dreams of an empire in India seemed to materialize. They now began to play an important part in the politics of the country. Their ultimate aim was to take control of Delhi in some form or the other. The extension of the power of Ahmad

5. CPC. i. Nos. 1042, 1047, 1093, 1183.

Shah, as also of the Marathas, the Sikhs and the Jats, was therefore, looked upon by them as interference with their own schemes of expansion.

In 1767, the position was still worse for Ahmad Shah. The Sikhs had become masters of practically the whole of the country from the Indus to the Jamuna, and they contested with him for every inch of land over which he set his foot. He then hardly had any real influence even in the areas under the heels of his army.

But in spite of all this the English were greatly alarmed. They knew that the Shah had been invited to India by Mir Qasim, their worst enemy. They had also been at daggers drawn with Emperor Shah Alam who had been recognized and confirmed by Ahmad Shah as the rightful Emperor of India, and in spite of all professions of loyalty and obedience, they had not only defied his authority but had reduced him to a mere prisoner at Allahabad. They had promised as early as March 1, 1761, to escort him to Delhi. The promise had been repeated year after year. Even Lord Clive, who had come to India again in 1765 and returned to England in January 1767, had repeated the promise in 1765. But it had not been fulfilled. The Emperor longed to return to his capital in Delhi as that was the main visible symbol of his sovereignty. His chief confidant and counsellor, Nawab Munir-ud-Daulah, was favourably inclined towards Ahmad Shah for friendly negotiations and, if possible, active help for his master's *de facto* restoration to his ancestors' throne in Delhi. Shuja-ud-Daulah's attitude was uncertain, although there were fears of his allying himself completely with the Shah. But there was no uncertainty about Najib-ud-Daulah. He was the Shah's 'own man' in this country and he had kept him fully informed of the state of affairs in India. He was sure to go over to him as soon as the Shah crossed over the Sutlej to the south. In Delhi, the heir-apparent and the regent of the Empire, Prince Jawan-Bakht, and his mother, *Malika* Zinat Mahal, were only waiting for the arrival of the Shah, in whom they saw the only hope of having the Emperor freed from the hands of the English and restored to Delhi.

The English saw a complete frustration of their future plans in the Shah's advance towards Delhi and in the coalition of the Emperor and the Indian chiefs and nobles with him. All their efforts, therefore, were directed towards keeping back the Emperor, Munir-ud-Daulah and Shuja-ud-Daulah from meeting Ahmad Shah or having anything to do with him. Outwardly they kept up the appearances of devotion and attachment to the Emperor while actually they were working for his utter ruin and downfall. Writing to him on December 13, 1766, Mr. Verelest[6] informed him that "as Lord Clive is indisposed and Mr. Sumner intends to return to Europe the management of affairs has been entrusted to the writer. ... His Majesty knows what valuable service Lord Clive has rendered to the throne. It is hoped that the writer will be regarded as equally attached thereto. As long as he remains in this country, he will devote himself to the regulation of the affairs of the Empire and the happiness and prosperity of the Royal house of Taimur."[7]

By the beginning of January, 1767, the news of Ahmad Shah's arrival in the Panjab and of the probability of his march towards Hindustan had spread throughout the country. There was feverish activity both among the English and the Marathas. The Maratha chief Reghunath Rao made peace with Jawahir Singh, son of Suraj Mall, the Jat ruler of Bharatpur, and invited other chiefs of Hindustan, including the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Shuja-ud-Daulah, to combine against the Durrani invader. Raghunath Rao at the same time seems to have suggested to Shuja-ud-Daulah that the combined forces of the Marathas, Shuja-ud-Daulah and the English should escort Emperor Shah Alam to Delhi. Mr. Verelest saw no harm in Shuja-ud-Daulah's alliance with the Marathas, but he would not agree to lending any English force to escort the Emperor to Delhi. Writing on January 16, 1767, Verelest told Shuja-ud-Daulah that he did not "see harm in the interview [between Shujah-ud-Daulah and

6 Mr. Verelest was appointed governor of Bengal in succession to Lord Clive, who left for England in January, 1767.

7. CPC. i. No. 2771.

Raghunath Rao] which may even lead to more cordial relations with the Marathas. The question rests entirely with the addressee. If he and the Marathas conduct the King to Shahjahanabad, it is well; but the English forces cannot lend their assistance in such an expedition. ... As regards Shah Abdali, he may penetrate towards these parts as far as Shahjahanabad, but his progress will not extend further. Should he bend his march this way, all the English forces will unite with the addressee's and inflict upon him an utter defeat."[8]

After his settlement with Jawahir Singh Jat, Raghunath Rao, it seems, had planned to pounce upon the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaipur. He captured Bhilsa and marched to Kota.

The Shah in the meantime seems to have heard about the impending coalition of the Marathas with Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the English, and of the intentions of Raghunath Rao against his faithful and devoted Rajput Rajas. He wrote from the Panjab a stern note of warning to Raghunath "threatening him with war and rapine, should he act contrary to the dictates" of the victor of Panipat. This unnerved the Maratha warrior and he quietly disappeared from the scene and moved away to Indore, leaving all his plans against the Rajputs and the Shah unexecuted. All efforts of Shuja-ud-Daulah and the English failed to keep him by their side and all their assurances of armed assistance fell flat upon him.[9]

The Shah had always been favourably disposed towards Shah Alam. His *vakil,* Munir-ud-Daulah, was, therefore, anxious to proceed to the Shah's presence and meet him on his behalf. As Lord Clive had left for England without replying to his letter on the subject, Munir-ud-Daulah wrote to his successor, Mr. Verelest, on February 27, 1767, to sound him as to the policy of the East India Company towards the Shah. "At this time," said Munir-ud-Daulah, "the *Vakils* of all the powers in Hindustan had sent *arzis* to the Shah. Although the writer is perfectly sure that it will be impracticable for the Shah to reach Delhi or other parts this year

8 Qanungo, *History of Jats,* 190-91; CPC. i. No. 2802.

9. CPC. ii. 207; Bannerji, *Peshwa Madhav Rao I,* 145-47.

by reason of the opposition of the Sikhs, yet should the powers of Hindustan aid him ... what attitude will the English adopt?" Being uneasy at not receiving replies to his requests, Munir-ud-Daulah again wrote to Mr. Verelest on March 3: "The Shah lies encamped between the two rivers. All the powers of Hindustan have written *arzis* to him. His Majesty [Emperor Shah Alam] alone has been silent, at which the Shah expressed much surprise. Desirous to know whether the King with propriety should address the Shah or not."[10]

The Governor, Mr. Verelest, in his reply, dated March 7, "does not think it advisable for the King to write to the Shah or for the addressee (Munir-ud-Daulah) to go to him and opines that many evils would result from it". He "does not think", said Verelest, "that Jawahir Singh Jat, Najib-ud-Daulah and other Ruhilla Sardars would go over to the Shah to surrender their territories to him. ... Should the Jats and the Ruhillas combine and offer the Sikhs a little assistance, it is probable that Shah will suffer defeat and disgrace."[11]

The English, he assured Munir-ud-Daulah, "are ready to defend the Empire; five Brigades of sepoys have been sent to Sheorajpur to remain on the frontiers of Kora. More troops will be sent to re-inforce them if necessary." Verelest also wrote to Shuja-ud-Daulah in the same strain on March 25, and further said, "the English forces were never so large and so ready for war as they are now, so much so that if the Ruhillas and the Jats join the Shah, the English can defeat them." He, however, told him that "as the English forces consist entirely of infantry and those of the Shah entirely of cavalry, ... it is, therefore, that His Excellency (Shuja-ud-Daulah) should raise a formidable body of cavalry."[12]

A petition was received on March 10 by the Emperor Shah Alam from Najib-ud-Daulah, written on the eve of his

10. CPC. ii. 107; 139.
11. CPC. ii. 145.
12. CPC ii. 201.

departure for the Shah's camp, requesting him "to send Munir-ud-Daulah, who has a personal influence at the Shah's court, to negotiate with him (the Shah)." After perusing it, the Emperor enclosed it in a letter of his own and sent it to the Governor. Munir-ud-Daulah also agreed with Najib's line of thinking and anxiously wished to have a treaty of alliance brought about between the Emperor and Ahmad Shah Durrani so that the Shah could be prevailed upon to aid him in establishing his sovereignty over India. With this end in view, he appealed to the wisdom of Verelest on March 26 telling him that "His Majesty has not yet had any correspondence or negotiations with the Shah and leaves the determination of all measures to the Governor's counsel and wisdom. . . . If, as Najib-ud-Daulah has represented, the Shah intends to stay two or three years in Hindustan, and if Ahmad Khan and other Ruhilla sardars join him, the consequences will be very grave and the remedy of them will be very difficult. If the Governor and the Council out of their wisdom think an alliance with the Shah to be advisable it is requested that His Excellency may represent the same to His Majesty, and send the writer instructions that he may act agreeably thereto. *P.S.* . . . And the time is short, it is hoped the Governor will send a speedy answer. ... Mir Qasim is determined to go to the Shah. His Vakil has long been with the Shah and made large promises to him. ... If the Governor is in favour of an alliance with the Shah, the writer is ready to go to him whenever His Majesty and the Governor order him. By the blessing of God, a firm league and friendship will be duly and happily entered upon, the counsels and evil views of *our* enemies frustrated, and the writer will return loaded with honour. Should this proposal meet with His Excellency's approbation, he should send the writer an *arzi* for the Shah, and letter of friendship for Shah Wali Khan, his Vazir, with expedition."[13]

The Emperor also was of the same opinion and was in favour of deputing Munir-ud-Daulah to the Shah. In his report of a conversation between himself and Colonal Sir

13. CPC. ii. Nos. 214, 216.

Robert Barker, he wrote on the same day, March 26, for the information of Mr. Verelest: "Letters also have arrived from Shah Wali Khan directing Dundi Khan, Mulla Sardar, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Faizullah Khan and Ahmad Khan to repair to the Shah's camp. Mir Qasim, that foul villain, has absolutely determined to go to the Shah; his *vakil* has been a long time in the Shah's army with bills to the amount of 10 *lakhs* and he has made large promises. From his soul, he has a great enmity to the Nawab Shujah-ud-Daulah. If the Shah moves to Delhi and is joined by the Ruhillas, which God avert, the counsels of evil and foolish men will prevail, and he in consequence will move this way. The remedy of the evil will then be difficult and a bloody war will ensue. And if on one side the Shah himself moves towards Allahabad by the road of Farrukhabad, and on the other the Ruhillas attack Lucknow and Oudh, it will be very difficult to engage both armies. In this case it seems best and most advisable ... to avert the coming danger by an alliance and friendship with the Shah. But, if the latter does not agree to amicable terms and peace, the best thing both for His Majesty and the English would be not to engage him in the Allahabad and Faizabad country but to fall back upon Patna."[14]

The Governor wrote back in reply to the Emperor on March 27: "His Majesty need not feel anxious concerning the Shah's expedition. ... If he is not coming this way, negotiation is unnecessary, but if he is, he will not be satisfied until he gets a *peshkash;* and to offer gold to a man who wrongfully invades this country is equally dishonourable for His Majesty and his faithful allies, the English Let His Majesty's heart rest perfectly at ease concerning the future. The troops that are stationed at Patna have been ordered to March to Lucknow in order to convince all Hindustan of the firmness of the allegiance of the English to His Majesty and of their determination to punish his enemies, and also in order to be in readiness for whatever may happen."[15]

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14 CPC ii No 217.
15. CPC. ii, No. 227.

This was the trend of correspondence that went on for some time between the Emperor and the English. There was a clash of interests between the two. The Emperor felt that a treaty of alliance with the Shah would help him in establishing his sovereignty and authority over the country. But he was helpless in the hands of the English; he had no independent means and he depended for his wherewithal on their pleasure. As such, he could not act independently against their wishes. The English, on the other hand, could not agree to a proposal that had in it the possibilities of strengthening the position and power of the Emperor. This was against their own interests. Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, played a double game. He had his own reasons for not condescending to encourage the Emperor to enter into an alliance with the Shah who could not have treated him (Shujah) more liberally than the English. Moreover, he was trying to persuade the English to help him in his designs against the Ruhillas. But he could not openly disagree with the Emperor nor could he displease the English by agreeing with him. Writing to the Emperor on April 1, he said, 'In the writer's opinion, the proposal is founded on wisdom, but then it is expedient that the consent of the English *sardars* should be obtained."[16]

At one stage there appeared to be an open rupture between the Emperor and the English. When Muqim Beg, who had carried the letters of Shah and his prime minister Shah Wali Khan for Shah Alam, delivered the despatches to the Emperor, probably in the last week of April, 1767, the Emperor said: "Had the Shah marched to Shahjahanabad, I had even now repaired thither, and at this time were the Shah only to send a body of 20,000 horse, thither I would go. I am steadfast. Constraint has placed me here."[17]

But the situation was saved by the Shah's retreat northward to grapple with the Sikhs. The obstruction caused by them to his advance and their well-directed attacks on his flanks and rear made it impossible for him to move towards Delhi without leaving his communications with his base depots

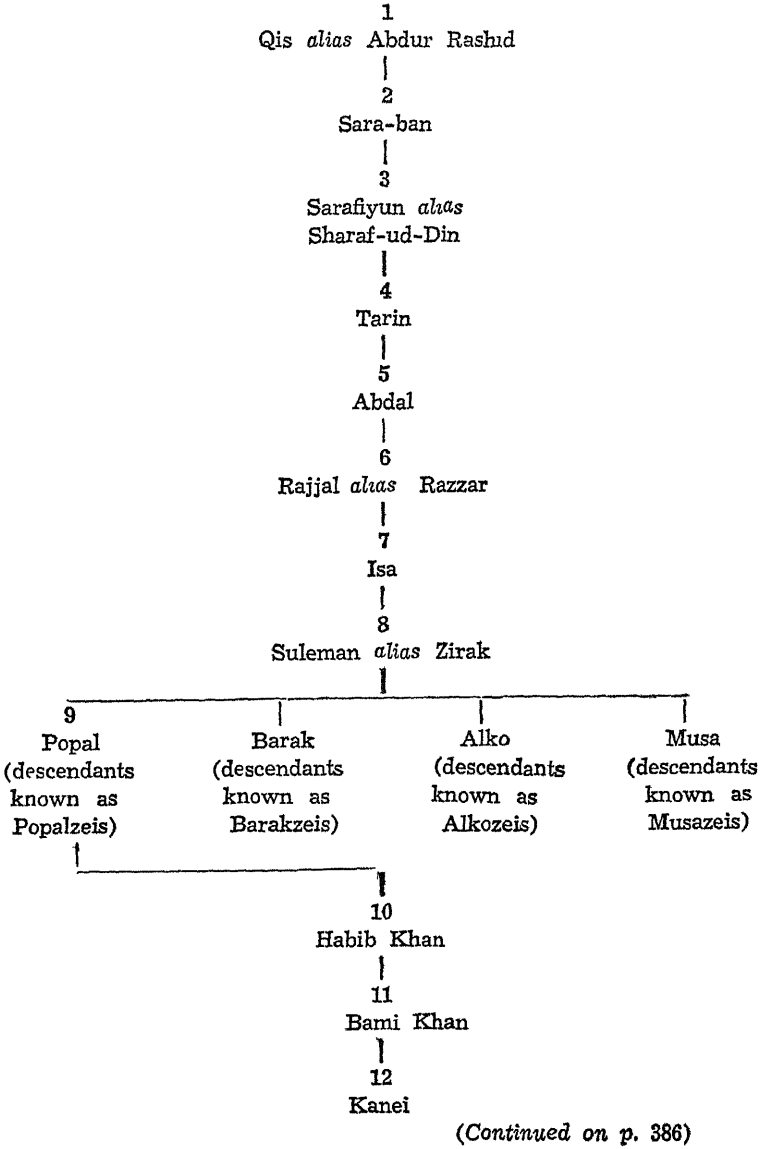
16. CPC. ii. No. 253.
17. CPC. ii. No. 377.

and his line of retreat entirely into their hands. In fact, the Sikhs had already re-occupied the territories lying to the north of the Sutlej when he had crossed that river to the south. As such, it became absolutely necessary for him to march back before his passage to his country should be entirely blocked against him.

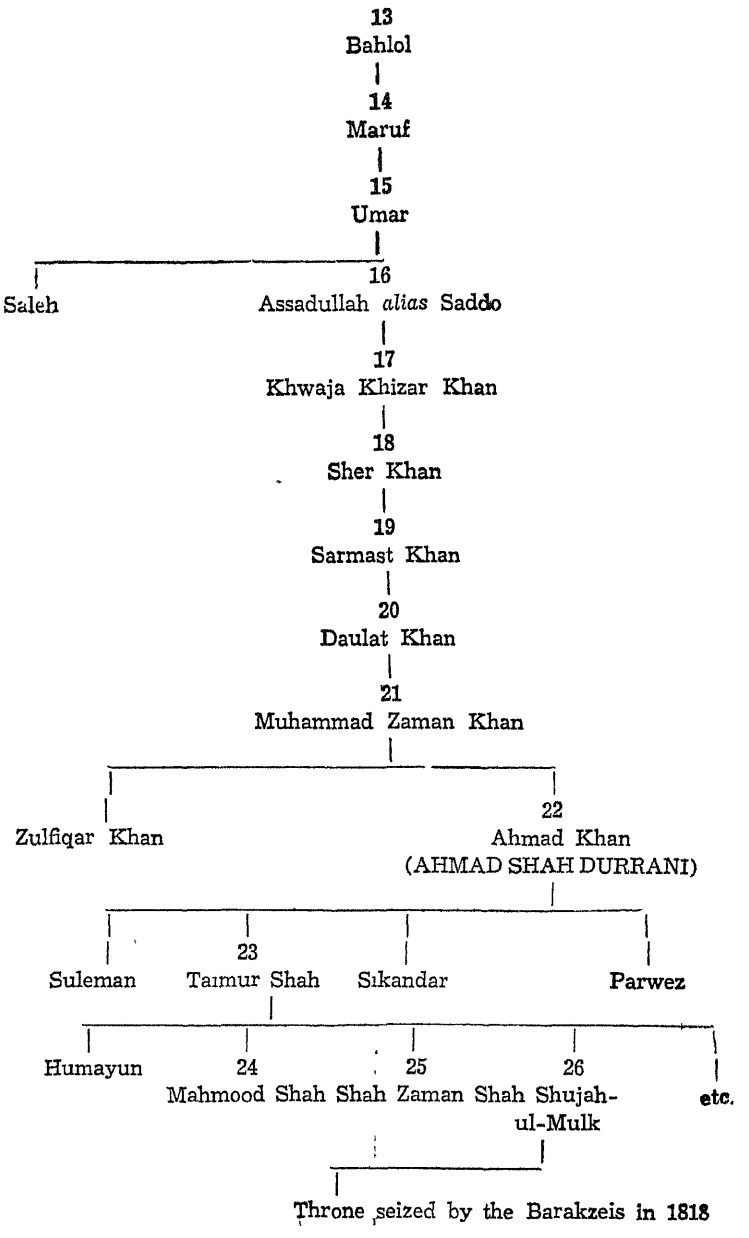
This was the last occasion when Ahmad Shah caused any great anxiety to the English in India. They were now gradually growing in political importance and were laying the foundations of the British power in India on the ruins of the Mughal empire.

Appendix V

Genealogical Table of AHMAD SHAH DURRANI



(*Continued on p.* 386)


13
Bahlol
14
Maruf
15
Umar
Saleh
16
Assadullah alias Saddo
17
Khwaja Khizar Khan
18
Sher Khan
19
Sarmast Khan
20
Daulat Khan
21
Muhammad Zaman Khan
Zulfiqar Khan
22
Ahmad Khan
(AHMAD SHAH DURRANI)
Suleman
23
Taimur Shah
Sikandar
Parwez
Humayun
24
Mahmood Shah
Shah Zaman
25
Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk
26
etc.
Throne seized by the Barakzeis in 1818

Appendix VI

DESCENDANTS AND SUCCESSORS OF AHMAD SHAH TAIMUR TO MAHMOOD

Ahmad Shah had four sons, Suleman, Taimur, Parwez and Sikandar. He had nominated Taimur to succeed him, but his prime minister, Shah Wali Khan, proclaimed Prince Suleman, his own son-in-law, as king in Qandahar. Taimur, however, soon entered Qandahar in triumph and was crowned king of the Afghans. Shah Wali Khan and his accomplices were all put to the sword. The rebellious attitude of the people of Qandahar, who had supported Suleman in his pretensions to kingship, was responsible for the transfer of the capital and the royal court to Kabul. There he reorganized his government and withdrew as much power as possible from the Durrani tribal chiefs. A Saddozei himself, he could not trust the Saddozeis. But as he could not withdraw from them the offices which his father had made hereditary in certain families, he created new ones to which he transferred some of them. His own personal guard he selected from amongst the Isakzeis and raised an additional body of twelve thousand horsemen from amongst the Persian Qizilbashes whom he thought to be more trustworthy than his Afghan subjects. "These," according to Fraser-Tytler, "were major errors, since there is no surer way to breed distrust among a backward and suspicious people than to ignore their leaders and cast doubts on their loyalty and good faith." Internal dissensions and Taimur's own peaceable disposition encouraged the outlying annexes to throw off their allegiance.

Khurasan was the western annexe of the Afghan kingdom. Shah Rukh Mirza, grandson of Nadir Shah, continued to be faithful to the son and successor of Ahmad Shah. The native chiefs and population, however, occasionally attempted to rid themselves of the Afghan yoke. Thrice had armies to be sent against them to keep them under subjection.

Sindh was almost permanently lost. Taimur personally led an army against the Talpur chiefs in 1779 and had to

send his commander-in-chief Dilawar Khan in 1786. A compromise was effected with Fateh Khan Talpur who agreed to acknowledge the suzerainty of Taimur and to pay a fixed tribute. But it did not last long, and in three years the connection was almost permanently severed.

All peaceful efforts having failed to suppress the revolt of Shah Murad of Bukhara in Afghan Turkistan, Taimur had to march with an army against him, but with no lasting effect. The Afghan army was withdrawn on Murad's agreeing to acknowledge Taimur as suzerain. The promise was never meant to be kept and Shah Murad became virtually independent.

The revolts in Kashmir, Sistan and Bahawalpur were, however, suppressed and Multan was retaken from the Sikhs.

But Taimur was not entirely free from internal troubles. Arsala Khan of the Mohmand tribe gathered round him a number of conspirators and attempted to murder Taimur at Peshawar in 1791 so that his brother Prince Sikandar could be seated on the throne. The conspiracy had almost succeeded but for the last-minute assemblage of the royal troops who cut the attackers to pieces. Arsala Khan managed to escape. Later on, however, he gave himself up on a solemn promise inscribed on the holy Quran. But the revengeful king ordered his throat to be cut. This violation of a solemn oath is regarded by the Afghans as a stain on his memory.

Taimur Shah died on May 18, 1793 (7 Shawwal, 1207 A.H), and was followed by a succession of princes "who for the next quarter of a century fought and bickered and intrigued for the Afghan throne while their empire fell to pieces around them." Taimur left a large number of sons but failed to nominate an heir. Zaman Khan, later on known as Zaman Shah or Shah Zaman, his fifth son, then happened to be at the capital. He proclaimed himself king of Afghanistan. A seven-year internecine struggle between the brothers resulted in the defeat and blinding of Zaman Shah in 1800 by Mahmood, who in turn was ousted by Shujah in 1803. In 1809 Shah Shujah was turned out by Mahmood who was ultimately responsible for the downfall in 1818 of the Saddozei dynasty, who yielded place to the Barakzeis.

Appendix VII

THE SIKHS

The word *Sikh* (Sanskrit *Shishya*) means a learner, a disciple. The Sikhs took birth from amongst the sturdy people of the Panjab in the beginning of the sixteenth century as disciples of Guru Nanak (1469-1539) who founded the Sikh religion. He was born at Talwandi Rai Bhoi, now called Nankana Sahib, in Pakistan. Guru Nanak protested against the exploitation of the people by the priestly classes and oppressive policies of the Muslim rulers. He rejected the multiplicity of gods and goddesses and preached that there was but one God, God of the universe and of all mankind. He abolished the system of caste and refused to acknowledge the supposed superiority of the Brahmin. He proclaimed that all men were equal before God and that there was no difference between man and man.

He felt that the root cause of the misery of the people in the Panjab was their disunity born of diversity of belief. He sought to create unity of thought and spirit. This could only be done, he thought, if they had a common social organization based on mutual equality and fraternity. He, therefore, laid the foundation of *Sangat,* or mixed congregations, where his Sikh disciples met in the evenings as brothers-in-faith, sang the hymns of the Guru and drew inspiration for their day-to-day life. In the *Guru ka Langar,* or the free community-kitchen, introduced by him, all sat and ate together in one and the same row (*pangat*), regardless of distinctions of caste, creed or status in life.

Unlike many other saints and reformers of India, Guru Nanak did not confine himself exclusively to a life of prayer and devotion. He refused to sit idle in slumbering meditation while his people were being crushed under a tyrannous system. He awakened them to a new consciousness and upbraided the rulers of his day, saying, "Kings are butchers, cruelty their knife. *Dharma,* or the sense of duty, has taken

wings and vanished." According to him "it was only fools and idiots who ruled" without having the good of their people at heart. "The kings," he said, "should be the dispensers of equity and justice."

This was a message of hope to the people and an inspiration to them to shake off their cowardice and dependence and to have faith in God. The new institutions of *Sangat* (mixed congregations) and *Pangat* (dining together) brought before the people the vision of a classless democratic society where all could claim equal status. This raised Guru Nanak into a symbol and a tradition of manly independence and self-reliance, which, as history knows, helped create a people whose like in indomitable courage and dogged tenacity in war and peace has yet to be seen.

Guru Nanak was popular not only among his Sikh disciples but also among his Hindu and Muhammadan countrymen who reverently called him *Baba* Nanak or Nanak *Shah*. On his death in 1539 at Kartarpur on the right bank of the Ravi, now in Pakistan, he was claimed by both as their 'own man', and they both raised in their own fashions mausoleums in his memory with a common wall between them—a thing unique in the history of religions.

Guru Nanak's torch was taken up by his nine devoted successors in the following order:

1.	Guru Nanak	..	1469-1539
2.	Guru Angad	..	1539-1552
3.	Guru Amar Das	..	1552-1574
4.	Guru Ram Das	..	1574-1581
5.	Guru Arjan	..	1581-1606
6.	Guru Hargobind	..	1606-1645
7.	Guru Har Rai	..	1645-1661
8.	Guru Har Krishan	..	1661-1664
9.	Guru Tegh Bahadur	..	1664-1675
10.	Guru Gobind Singh	..	1675-1708

The Sikh Gurus gave to their followers a unifying organization in Sikhism, a rallying centre at Amritsar, a scripture in the *Adi Granth* (which made them *Ahl-i-Kitab*, the people

of the Book), a martial spirit and a line of martyrs who immortalized the land of Baba Nanak, the Panjab, which Robert N. Cust christened as *Sikhland* in his *Oriental and Linguistic Essays*.

Guru Arjan, the Fifth Guru, was tortured to death under the orders of Emperor Jahangir, while Aurangzeb, seventy years later, ordered the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the Ninth Guru. The Sikhs were thus forced to adopt a life of arms in self-defence and for self-preservation. Guru Hargobind was the first to initiate them into the cult of the sword and Guru Gobind Singh, the last of the Gurus, organized these soldier-saints into the order of the *Khalsa*. He introduced *Khande di Pahul*, the baptism of the double-edged sword, and made the Sikhs drink *Amrita*, or consecrated sugared water, stirred with a steel dagger, and eat *Karah-prasad*, or the sacred food, which was distributed to all from the same vessel. He himself also went through the same initiation ceremony at the hands of the Sikhs and was baptized into the new fold. This annihilated for the Khalsa all distinctions not only of high and low and of rich and poor, but also of teacher and disciple. This humility of Guru Gobind Singh and his voluntary submission to the discipline he himself had enjoined upon his followers established a unique standard of religious fraternity.

This new dispensation of Guru Gobind Singh created a stir among the Shivalik hill chiefs who saw in it a danger to their time-honoured orthodox system of belief. They not only refused to render him any assistance in the task of overthrowing the Mughal tyranny, but also allied themselves with the rulers against him. Finding the Guru and his Sikhs more than a match for them, they invited the Mughal forces of Sirhind and Delhi to help them in crushing the rising nation. The Guru had to fight as many as fourteen battles against the forces of the hill chiefs and the Mughals. In the last battle of Anandpur (in the district of Hoshiarpur) in December, 1704, he had to leave his home and retire into the territory of the Brars, south of the Sutlej. His mother

and two younger sons fell into the hands of Nawab Wazir Khan of Sirhind, under whose orders the boys of tender ages of nine and seven years were butchered to death.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, his son and successor, Bahadur Shah, cultivated friendly relations with the Guru. The Guru was, however, stabbed to death in 1708, by an agent of the Nawab of Sirhind, at Nander, in the Deccan, where he had accompanied the new Emperor in connection with the negotiations that had been going on between them for some time past. Spiritual authority after Guru Gobind Singh came to be vested in the Sikhs' Holy Book, called the *Guru Granth Sahib*, while the supreme temporal leadership of the community rested with the general body of the Khalsa.

After the death of the tenth and the last Guru, Gobind Singh, a disciple of his, Banda Singh, appeared in the Panjab as a political leader and took up the struggle which Guru Gobind Singh had started. The Sikhs from all over the country flocked to him in large numbers and raised the standard of rebellion in the territory of Sirhind which fell to him in May, 1710. This was the first territorial conquest of the Sikhs and it placed them in possession of the entire country south of the Sutlej to the neighbourhood of Delhi. And with this, the territory of the present Patiala Division of the Panjab became the centre of the first independent kingdom in the Panjab. The Sikhs soon carried their conquests to the Gangetic Doab and then to the central and north-eastern Panjab. Finding himself helpless against this popular movement for independence, the Mughal governor of Lahore, Sayed Aslam Khan, led a *jihad* against the Sikhs. But it met with failure. A successful surprise attack by the Sikhs at Bhilowal inflicted such a heavy blow upon the crusaders that, excepting Lahore proper, practically the whole of the country south of the river Ravi, with Kasur to the west, fell into their hands.

But the Mughal empire was still too strong for the infant power of the Sikhs. Banda Singh was captured in Decem

ber, 1715, after a prolonged siege of about eight months and was carried to Delhi where he was torn to pieces in 1716, along with 794 other Sikhs who were executed at the rate of a hundred a day. "A royal edict was now issued by Emperor Farrukh Siyar," says the author of the *Miftah-ut-Tawarikh,* "ordering all who belonged to this sect to be indiscriminately put to death wherever found," and "to give effect to this mandate a reward," according to Malcolm, "was offered for the head of every Sikh." For thirty-six years the Sikhs continued to be persecuted with more or less the same rigour.

The time of the governorship of Mir Mannu (1748-53) was, perhaps, the worst for them. Moving columns issued from the provincial headquarters at Lahore in search and pursuit of them and they were hunted down like wild beasts Neither saint nor scholar was spared. Even women and children were subjected to most inhuman tortures, some of which are recounted to the present day in the daily prayer of the Sikhs.

These indiscriminate massacres drove the Sikhs for shelter into distant woods and hills and into the arid areas of Barnala and Bhattinda. But it soon became impossible for large bodies of men to make both ends meet. They, therefore, divided themselves into two *Dals,* the *Buddha Dal* and the *Taruna Dal,* the Elders' League and the Youth League, which after some time were re-organized into five *jathas,* with further subdivisions into twelve smaller units, called the *Misals.* The incessant life-and-death struggles of the Misaldar Sardars at first against the imperialist Mughals and then against the foreign usurpers not only added to their popularity and numerical strength but made them rulers of principalities which fell to them as a result of their successes against the local rulers, big and small. The victory of Sirhind on January 14, 1764, against Zain Khan Afghan, exactly three years after the battle of Panipat, made the Sikhs undisputed masters of the entire country south of the Sutlej, and the occupation of Lahore on April 16, 1765, made them rulers of the Panjab. The *Misal* of the Bhangis was the largest and had the most extensive territories but the Sukkarchakkia

Misal emerged triumphant in the struggle for survival and its leader Sardar (later Maharaja) Ranjit Singh succeeded in consolidating the territories of the various Misals into the kingdom of the Panjab. He ruled the Panjab for forty years from 1799 to 1839. Ten years after his death the Sikh kingdom was conquered and annexed by the British.

Occasional anti-British movements* of the Sikhs during the British regime were ruthlessly suppressed and the *Satyagrah* movements launched by Mahatma Gandhi gave a new fillip to the Indian independence movement which resulted in the withdrawal of the British from India in 1947.

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*1. The Namdhari or Kuka Movement.

2. Movement for the restoration of the Panjab to Maharaja Duleep Singh.

3. The Ghadar Party Movement.

4. The Gurdwara Reform Movement.

APPENDIX VIII

CHRONOLOGY

500 B.C.	The country of the Afghans formed a part of the Achaemenian empire of Darius.
331 B.C.	The Afghan country overrun by the Greeks under Alexander.
250 B.C.	Ashoka established his authority over the Hindu Kush and Afghan country.
699-700 A.D.	The first Muslim expedition to the Afghan country.
961	Yamini dynasty of Ghazni founded by Alaptigin.
1024	Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India and destroyed the temple and idol of Somnath.
1221 (about)	Khwarizm Shah overthrown by Mongols of Changez Khan.
1332-70	Tajiks virtually independent in Herat.
1469	Guru Nanak born.
1504	Babur captured Kabul.
1522	Qandahar surrendered to Babur.
1526	Babur founded the Mughal empire in India.
1558	Qandahar seized by Persians.
1558 Sept.-Oct.	(Zil-Hijja 965). Birth of Saddo (Assadullah, the ancestor of the Saddozei Abdalis).
1584 (about)	Badakhshan occupied by Uzbeks.
1595	Akbar captured Qandahar.
1605	Qandahar retaken by Persians.
1606	Guru Arjan tortured to death under the orders of Emperor Jahangir.
1639	Badakhshan taken by Mughals.
1647	Uzbeks re-occupied Badakhshan.
1675	Guru Tegh Bahadur executed at Delhi under the orders of Aurangzeb.
1693-94	(1105 A.H.). Beglar Begi appointed the Persian Governor of Qandahar.
1702	Gurgin Khan arrived at Qandahar as Governor.
1704 December — 27	Last battle of Anandapur. Two young sons of Guru Gobind Singh (Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh) butchered to death at Sirhind under the orders of Nawab Wazir Khan.

1707	Aurangzeb died.
	Massacre of Ghalzeis by Gurgin Khan.
	Mir Wais came to power.
1708	Guru Gobind Singh stabbed to death at Nander in the Deccan.
1709	Mir Wais Ghalzei declared independence of Afghans at Qandahar.
1710	Banda Singh established his kingdom in the Panjab.
1711	Persian army under Khusru Khan moved against Mir Wais.
1715 November	Mir Wais died.
1715-16	Mir Abdul Aziz (Abdulla) succeeded Mir-Wais.
1716 September 2	(Ramzan 26, 1128 A.H.). Assadulla declared Herat an independent principality.
— March	Abdulla assassinated by Wais's son, Mir Mahmud.
	Banda Singh's Sikh followers massacred at Delhi.
— June	Banda Singh tortured and cut to pieces at Delhi.
1717	(1129 A.H.). Nasir Khan Muhammad Aman died and Nasiri Khan became Subedar of Kabul.
— July 25	(Shaban 26, 1129 A.H.). Abdalis entered Herat.
1719	Assadulla Khan defeated Safi Quli Khan.
1720	(1132 A.H). Assadulla Khan killed at Dilaram. Zaman Khan came to power.
1722	Ahmad Khan born at Multan.
— March	Mir Mahmud ascended the throne of Persia.
1722-23	(1135 A.H.). Muhammad Khan succeeded Zaman Khan.
	Muhammad Khan besieged Mashhad.
1724-25	(1137 A.H.). Rehman, Abdulla Khan's son, attacked Zulfiqar Khan.
1725-26	(1138 A.H.). Allahyar Khan called from Multan and elected chief.
1726 November 30	(Rabi II 16, 1139 A.H.). Nadir Shah captured Mashhad.
1729 April 22	(Shawwal 4, 1141 A.H.). Nadir Shah marched towards Herat.
1730	Nadir Shah conquered Persia.
— March	Zulfiqar Khan revolted against Nadir.
— April	Zulfiqar Khan drove out Allahyar Khan from Herat.

— July 18	(Saturday, Muharram 13, 1143 A.H.). Zulfiqar Khan, defeated Ibrahim Khan, the commander of Mashhad.
— October 31	(Saturday, Rabi II 29, 1143 A.H.). Nadir came back to Mashhad.
1731 March 13	(Saturday, Ramzan 15, 1143 A.H.). Nadir attacked Herat.
— July 11	(Muharram 17, 1144 A.H.). Zulfiqar emerged from Herat.
— August 11	(Safar 18, 1144 A H.). Zulfiqar Khan returned to Farrah.
— December	Allahyar Khan sued for peace.
1732	Abdali families exiled to Khurasan.
— February 16	(Ramzan 1, 1144 A.H.). The city of Herat surrendered by Allahyar Khan to Nadir. Defeated by Ibrahim Khan at Farrah, Zulfiqar Khan fled for shelter to Qandahar.
1734-35	(1147 A.H.). Nadir's campaign of Daghistan.
1736	Nadir Shah conquered the Afghan dominion of Qandahar. Nadir concluded a truce with Turkey and crushed the Bakhtiaris.
— October 4	(Jam. II 9, 1149 A.H.). Nadir returned to his capital.
— November 10	(Rajjab 17, 1149 A.H.). Nadir set out against the Ghalzeis.
1737 January 23	(Shawwal 2, 1149 A.H.). Nadir crossed Sistan-Qandahar border.
— February 7	Nadir reached Girishk.
— April	Siege of Qandahar began.
— —	Nadir Shah founded Nadirabad near Qandahar.
— — 30	(Muharram 11, 1150 A.H.). Nadir despatched Muhammad Khan Turkoman on a mission to Emperor Muhammad Shah at Delhi.
1738 March	Nadir Shah conquered Farrah.
— — 12	(Zil-Hijja 2, 1150 A.H.). Nadir entered Qandahar.
— June 1	Nadir reached Ghazni.
— *End*	Citadel of Kabul surrendered to Nadir.
— December 26	(Ramzan 25, 1151 A.H.). Nadir invaded India; left Peshawar for Delhi.
1739 March 9	(Zil-Hijja 9, 1151 A.H.). Nadir Shah conquered the fort of Delhi.

— May 1 (Safar 3, 1152 A.H.). Treaty between Nadir Shah and Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi.

— May 5 (Safar 7, 1152 A.H.). Nadir rode through streets of Delhi to Kabul Gate on his return march.

Nadir's baggage (1000 animals) looted by (Sikh) peasants on the way to and near Thanesar and during their journey to Sialkot.

— — 25 (Safar 27, 1152 A.H.). Nadir reached Akhnur.

— November 21 (Ramzan 1, 1152 A.H.). Nadir arrived at Kabul on return from India.

1745 Abul Qasim Khan appointed Naib Governor of Kashmir.

— July 1 (Jamadi II 12, 1158 A.H). Zakariya Khan died at Lahore.

— August 26 (Shaban 9, 1158 A.H.). Muhammad Shah appointed Yahiya Khan governor of Lahore and Shah Nawaz Khan of Multan.

1746 June 2 (Jeth 2, 1803 Bk.). Massacre of Sikhs—First (*Chhota*) Ghalughara

— July 1 Yahiya Khan returned to Lahore.

— November 21 (Zi-qada 18, 1159 A.H.). Shah Nawaz Khan arrived at Lahore.

1747 January 11 (Muharram 10, 1160 A.H.). Nadir Shah left Isfahan for Yazd and Kirman.

— March 17 End of civil war at Lahore.

— — 21 Shah Nawaz Khan entered Lahore.

— April Nadir Shah left for Mashhad.

— June 8 (Sunday, Jamadi II 11, 1160 A.H.). Nadir Shah arrived at Fatehabad and ordered the arrest of his guard-officers.

— — 8-9 Nadir assassinated at night at Fatehabad camp.

— July *Early* Ahmad Shah crowned at Qandahar.

— — 15 (Rajjab 18, 1160 A.H.). Malik Muhammad Hashim Afridi appointed Malik of Afridi tribes.

— September 3 (Ramzan 9, 1160 A.H.). Muhammad Naeem Khan reached Delhi.

— November Ahmad Shah's warning to invade India reached Delhi.

— — 15 (Zi-qada 23, 1160 A.H.). Nasir Khan reached Lahore.

— December Ahmad Shah left Peshawar for Lahore.

—	—	15	(Zil-Hijja 23, 1160 A.H.). Yahiya Khan got released.
—	—	19	(Zil-Hijja 27). Nasir Khan reached Delhi.
1748	January	8	(Muharram 18, 1161 A.H.). Ahmad Shah reached Shahdara (Lahore). Qamr-ud-Din went on leave.
—	—	10	(Muharram 20, 1161 A.H.). The Afghan army crossed the Ravi and encamped at Mahmud Buti.
—	—	11	(Muharram 21, 1161 A.H.). Durranis moved out towards the city of Lahore.
—	—	12	(Muharram 22). Ahmad Shah occupied the tents and military headquarters of Shah Nawaz Khan.
—	—	13	(Muharram 23). Raja Ishri Singh left Delhi for Sirhind.
—	—	31	(Safar 11, 1161 A.H.). Prince Ahmad left Delhi for Sirhind.
February		10	(Safar 21). Prince Ahmad reached Panipat.
—	—	19	(Rabi I 1). Prince Ahmad reached Karnal and came to know that Muhammad Ali Khan Ruhela had deserted. Ahmad Shah left Lahore.
—	—	26	(Rabi I 7 and 8). Prince Ahmad reached Sirhind.
—	—	27	(Rabi I 9). Prince Ahmad marched towards Machhiwara.
—	March	1	(Rabi I 12). Ahmad Shah crossed the Sutlej at Ludhiana.
—	—	2	(Rabi I 13). Ahmad Shah reached Sirhind.
—	—	3	(Rabi I 14). Prince Ahmad moved out towards Sirhind.
—	—	9	(Rabi I 20). Ahmad Shah opens fire. Two men from Afghan army interviewed the Indian Wazir.
—	—	11	(Rabi I 22). General action at Manupur.
—	—	12	(Rabi I 23). Mughals expected Ahmad Shah to give battle.
—	—	13	(Rabi I 24). Ahmad Shah sent army to engage the enemy.
—	—	15	(Rabi I 26). Muhammad Taqi Khan sent for peace talks.
—	—	16	(Rabi I 27). Afghans again appeared for fight.
—	—	17	(Rabi I 28). The rear-guard of Afghans disappeared.

— April 11	(Rabi-us-Sani 23, 1161 A.H.). Mir Mannu appointed Governor of the Panjab by Emperor Muhammad Shah.
— — 12	(Rabi-us-Sani 24, 1161 A.H.). Nasir Khan reappointed governor of Kabul by Emperor Muhammad Shah.
— — 15	(Rabi-us-Sani 27, 1161 A.H.). Emperor Muhammad Shah died at Delhi.
— November	People invited Asmat-ud-Din Khan to rule Kashmir.
	Ahmad Shah invaded India for the second time.
— December 28	Ahmad Shah's property carried by Mahdi Quli Khan from Lahore reached Delhi.
1749 *Spring.*	Ahmad Shah's treaty with Mir Mannu.
	Nasir Khan displaced Muhabbat Khan.
	Ahmad Shah marched against Herat.
1750 *Early*	Ahmad Shah returned to Qandahar.
1751 *Beginning*	Afrasiyah Beg Khan poisoned to death.
Early	Ahmad Shah marched upon Nishapur.
— September 21	(Zi-qada 12, 1164 A.H.). Harun Khan reached neighbourhood of Lahore.
— October 3	(Zi-qada 24, 1164 A.H.). Shah left Kabul for Peshawar.
— November 19	(Muharram 11, 1165 A.H.). Shah at Peshawar for third invasion of India.
— — 29	(Muharram 21, 1165 A.H.). Mir Mannu visited tombs of saints at Lahore.
— — 30	(Muharram 22, 1165 A.H.). Mir Mannu crossed the Ravi and encamped at Sarai Balkhian to defend Lahore against Ahmad Shah Durrani.
— December 1-2	(Muharram 23-24, 1165 A.H.). Jahan Khan reached near Eminabad.
— — 4	(Muharram 26, 1165 A.H.). Ahmad Shah encamped at Kotla Sayyadan near Wazirabad.
— — 12	(Safar 4, 1165 A.H.). Mir Mannu's talk with Harun Khan.
1752 January *middle*	Shah crossed the Ravi.
— March 6	(Chaitra Sudi 2, 1808 Bk, Jamadi-ul-awwal 1, 1165 A.H.). Mir Mannu attacked the Durranis; Kaura Mall killed in battle; Mannu defeated.
— — 10	Mir Mannu returned to Lahore from Shah's camp.
— — 24	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 19, 1165 A.H.). Safdar Jang left for Delhi.

—	April 1	Qalandar Beg Khan reached Delhi as envoy.
—	— 6	Emperor met the envoy.
—	— 12	Safdar Jang effected agreement with Marathas.
—	— 13	Qalandar Beg Khan given leave.
—	— 20	Qalandar Beg Khan reached Lahore.
—	— 21-22	Ahmad Shah left Lahore for Afghanistan.
—	x x	Karım Khan defeated.
—	*Autumn*	Rebellion in Khurasan.
—	November	(Muharram, 1166 A.H.). Shah at Jalalabad.
—	December 8	(Safar 1, 1166 A.H.). Safdar Jang's message to Emperor Alamgir II.
—	— *Middle*	Arrival of Afghan envoy at Lahore.
1753		(1166 A.H.). Karim Khan returned to Shiraz.
—	January *2nd week*	Afghan envoy arrived at Delhi.
—	February 15	(Rabi-us-Sani 11, 1166 A.H.). The Afghan envoy given audience.
—	— 21	(Rabı-us-Sani 17, 1166 A.H.). Return of Afghan envoy from Delhi.
—	November 4	(Muharram 7, 1167 A.H., Katik Sudi 9, 1810 Bk.). Mir Mannu died.
—	— 12	(Muharram 15, 1167 A.H.). News of Mir Mannu's death reached Delhi.
—	— 13	(Muharram 16, 1167 A.H.). Emperor bestows governorship of Multan and Lahore upon Prince Mahmood Shah.
—	— 17	(Muharram 20, 1167 A.H.). Mir Nizam-ud-Din Intizam-ud-Daulah Wazir-ul-Mumalik appointed absentee Subedar of the Panjab.
—	— 21	(Muharram 24, 1167 A.H.). Intizam-ud-Daulah appointed Mir Momin Khan and Bhikari Khan as deputy governors of Lahore and Adina Beg Khan as Naib Faujdar of Doaba Bist Jullunder.
1754	January 1-4	(Rabi-ul-Awwal 6-9, 1167 A.H.). Bhikari Khan imprisoned by Mughlani Begum.
—	— 30	(Rabi-us-Sani 5, 1167 A.H.). Emperor Alamgir II honoured the child of Muin-ul-Malik (Muhammad Amin Khan by name), Adina Beg Khan and Momin Khan.
—	February 3	(Rabi-us-Sani 9, 1167 A.H.). Muhammad Amin Khan, son of Mir Mannu, appointed governor of the Panjab.

— — 4	(Rabi-us-Sani 10, 1167 A.H.). Arrival of farmans from Ahmad Shah Durrani for the child of Muin-ul-Malik (named Muhammad Amin Khan), Adina Beg Khan and Momin Khan.
— May *End*	Muhammad Amin Khan, son of Mir Mannu, died.
— September	Mir Momin Khan given the title of Momin--ud-Daulah.
1755 April	Bhikari Khan died in prison at Lahore.
— July	Encounter between Mughlani Begam and Ubedulla Khan.
1756 January 15	(Rabi-us-Sani 12, 1169 A.H.). Ghazi-ud-Din left for Ambala.
— February	Ubedullah Khan fled to Jammu.
	Mughlani Begam once again became the ruler of the Panjab.
— March 4	Umda Begam, daughter of Mir Mannu and Mughlani Begam, arrived in the camp of Ghazi-ud-Din at Sirhind.
— — 28	Mughlani Begam arrived in the camp of Ghazi-ud-Din near Machhiwara.
— July 19	(Shawwal 21, 1169 A.H.). Ghazi-ud-Din back at Delhi.
— October	Elich Khan, the Mughal envoy, back at Delhi with the Afghan envoy, Qalandar Khan.
— — 29	(Safar 4, 1170 A.H.). Qalandar Khan's first interview with Ghazi-ud-Din
— October 31	(Safar 6, 1170 A.H.). Qalandar Khan received by Alamgir II.
— November 3	Qalandar Khan presented horses to Alamgir II and Ghazi-ud-Din. Hot words exchanged between Ghazi-ud-Din and Najib-ud-Daulah.
— — 8	(Safar 14, 1170 A.H.). Najib-ud-Daulah plundered shops attached to Ghazi-ud-Din's camp.
— — 15	(Safar 21, 1170 A.H.). Ahmad Shah Durrani marched from Peshawar to Lahore.
— — *3rd week*	Suraj Mall Jat returned to Bharatpur after breakdown of negotiations with Ghazi-ud-Din.
— — 23	(Safar 29, 1170 A.H.). Qalandar Khan's second interview with Alamgir II.
— — 25	Jangbaz Khan occupied Lahore.
— December 13	(Rabi-ul-Awwal 20, 1170 A.H.). Batala and Adina Nagar cleared of Adina Beg's men.

—	—	20	(Rabi-ul-Awwal 27, 1170 A.H.). Ahmad Shah moved towards Lahore.
			Agha Raza Khan sent to Shah for diplomatic negotiations.
—	—	25	(Rabi-us-Sani 2, 1170 A.H.). Ghazi-ud-Din held conference of friends and Amirs
			Ghazi-ud-Din went and appealed to Najib-ud-Daulah for help.
—	—	29	(Rabi-us-Sani 6, 1170 A.H.). Yaqub Ali Khan presented to Alamgir II.
—	—	*End*	Shah detailed Hasan Khan to march upon Sirhind.
1757	January	5	(Rabi-us-Sani 13, 1170 A.H.). Jahan Khan arrived near Sirhind.
—	—	10	(Rabi-us-Sani 18, 1170 A.H.). Ahmad Shah Durrani crossed the Sutlej.
			Mughlani Begam left towards Panjab for discussing peace terms with the Shah.
—	—	12	(Rabi-us-Sani 20, 1170 A.H.). Mughlani Begam reached the camp of Jahan Khan at Karnal.
—	—	14	(Rabi-us-Sani 22, 1170). Agha Raza arrived at Delhi with peace terms.
—	—	16	(Rabi-us-Sani 24, 1170 A.H.). Jahan Khan reached Delhi.
			Attempt by Antaji Manakeshwar to check Shah Wali Khan.
—	—	17	(Rabi-us Sani 25, 1170 A.H.). Guns planted on the bank of Rajghat to oppose the passage of Jahan Khan.
—	—	18	(Rabi-us-Sani 26, 1170 A.H.). Shah dismissed the Delhi envoys, Agha Raza Khan and Yaqub Khan.
—	—	19	(Rabi-us-Sani 27, 1170 A.H.). Ghazi-ud-Din with some Amirs set out to see Ahmad Shah.
—	—	20	(Rabi-us-Sani 28, 1170 A.H.). Ghazi-ud-Din granted audience by Ahmad Shah
—	—	21	(Rabi-us-Sani 29, 1170 A.H.). The *khutba* read in the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani at Delhi.
			Sarwar Khan defeated by Antaji Manakeshwar.
—	—	22	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1, 1170 A.H.). Preparations started for the occupation of the fort of Delhi by Shah.
—	—	23	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 2, 1170 A.H.). Shah arrived at Wazirabad near Delhi.

—	—	24	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 3, 1170 A.H.). Jahan Khan entered the fort of Delhi.
—	—	23-25	Mughal nobles paid tributes to Shah.
—	—	25-26 *Night*	Shah bestowed the Saltanat of Hindustan on Alamgir II.
—	—	26	Alamgir II set out to see the Shah at Wazirabad.
—	—	27	Jahan Khan met Alamgir II.
—	—	28	Ahmad Shah entered Delhi and stayed in the fort of Delhi.
—	—	29	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 8, 1170 A.H.). Proclamation for the protection of the city issued by Shah. Alamgir paid a visit to Shah and a Darbar held in the Darbar-i-Am.
—	—	30	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 9, 1170 A.H.). Coins struck in the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani at Delhi.
—	February	1	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 11, 1170 A.D.) Antaji Manakeshwar defeated by Jahan Khan.
—	—	2	Jahan Khan returned to Delhi after burning the town of Faridabad.
—	—	4-20	Money extorted from the residents of Delhi.
—	—	14	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 24, 1170 A.H.). Prince Taimur, son of Ahmad Shah Durrani, married to princess Gauhar-Afroz Bano Begam, the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II.
—	—	18	(Jamadi-us-Awwal 28, 1170 A.H.). Agreement between Ahmad Shah Durrani and Alamgir II signed.
—	—	20-21 *Night*	(Jamadi-us-Sani 1 1170 A.H.). Umda Begam married to Ghazi-ud-Din.
—	—	22	(Jamadi-us-Sani 2, 1170 A.H.). Shah marched against Suraj Mall Jat of Bharatpur.
—	—	23-24	Shah halted at Khizarabad.
—	—	23	(Jamadi-us-Sani 3, 1170 A.H.). Alamgir II paid visit to Shah.
—	—	24	(Jamadi-us-Sani 4, 1170 A.H.). Ghazi-ud-Din joined the Shah on his expedition against the Jats.
—	—	25	(Jamadi-us-Sani 5, 1170 A.H.). Mughlani Begam joined the Shah in his expedition against the Jats.
—	—	26	(Jamadi-us-Sani 6, 1170 A.H.). Sher Andaz Khan met Ghazi-ud-Din.

— — 27	(Jamadi-us-Sani 7, 1170 A.H.). Sher Andaz Khan presented petition to Shah.
— — 28	(Jamadi-us-Sani 8, 1170 A.H.). Jawahar Singh defeated by Jahan Khan.
— March 1	(Jamadi-us-Sani 9, 1170 A.H.). Jahan Khan entered Mathura and massacred the population.
— — 3	(Jamadi-us-Sani 11, 1170 A.H.). Jawahar Singh escaped from Ballabhgarh.
— — 6	(Jamadi-us-Sani 14, 1170 A.H.). Massacre at Brindaban by Jahan Khan.
— — 15	(Jamadi-us-Sani 23, 1170 A.H.). Shah arrived at Mathura.
— — 21	(Jamadi-us-Sani 29, 1170 A.H.). Jahan Khan reached Agra
— — 23	(Rajjab 2, 1170 A H.). Jahan Khan received urgent orders from Shah to repair to his presence.
— — 24	(Rajjab 3, 1170 A.H). Jahan Khan left Agra to join the Shah at Mathura.
— — 26	(Rajjab 5, 1170 A.H.). Shah despatched message to Alamgir II.
— — 31	(Rajjab 10, 1170 A.H.). Shah encamped in the suburbs of Delhi.
— April 1	(Rajjab 11, 1170 A.H.). Shah shifted his camp towards Badli.
— — 2	(Rajjab 12, 1170 A.H.). Alamgir II paid farewell visit to Shah.
— — 5	(Rajjab 15, 1170 A.H.). Sahib Mahal arrived in Shah's camp.
— — 10	(Rajjab 20, 1170 A H.). Sahib Mahaal left Delhi, following Shah's camp.
— — 13	(Rajjab 23, 1170 A.H.). Shah reached Taraori.
— August	Raghunath Rao in the neighbourhood of Delhi.
1758 January 6	(Rabi-ul-Akhar 25, 1171 A.H.). Maratha despatch about Panjab.
	Adina Beg Khan's negotiations with Raghunath Rao.
— — *2nd week*	Abdus Samad Khan started fortification of Sirhind.
— February *End*	Raghunath Rao marched from Delhi towards Sirhind.
— March 9	(Phagan 29/30, 1814 Bk.) Raghunath Rao reached neighbourhood of Sirhind.
— — 21	Sirhind captured by Sikhs and Marathas.

— April 16	Jahan Khan returned to Lahore from the town of Jalalabad on the river Beas.
— April 17	Taimur's and Jahan Khan's camp set on the Ravi
— — 19	Taimur and Jahan Khan left Lahore.
— — 20	Sikhs and Marathas occupy Lahore.
— — x x	Khwaja Mirza Jan Khan appointed to Lahore.
— May 10	(Ramzan 2, 1171 A.H.) Raghunath Rao left Lahore for the south.
— June 5	Raghunath Rao took bath at Kurukshetra.
— September 15	Adina Beg Khan died.
— — *End*	Jankoji Shinde returned from Indus.
— — x x	Nur-ud-Din Khan Bamezei entered Sind Sagar Doab.
— November	Tukaji Holkar in Peshawar.
— December 4th week	(Rabi-ud-Akhir, end, 1172 A.H.). Raghunath Rao and Malhar Rao Holkar returned to Deccan from Delhi.
1759 January 4	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 5, 1172 A.H.). Jankoji Shinde reached Barari near Wazirabad (near Delhi).
— — 31	(Jamadi-us-Sani 2, 1172 A.H.). Agreement concluded between Jankoji Shinde and Ghazi-ud-Din
— February 1	Jankoji Shinde marched towards north.
— April *Middle*	Sabaji returned to Lahore from Peshawar.
—August *End*	Ahmad Shah despatched a force to the Panjab under Jahan Khan.
— September-Oct.	(Safar 1173 A.H.). Shah descended upon India.
— October 25	(Rabi-ul-Awwal 3, 1173 A.H.). Shah crossed the Indus.
— November 20	(Rabi-ul-Awwal 29, 1173 A.H.). Shah crossed Beas at Goindwal.
— — 29	(Rabi-us-Sani 8, 1173 A.H.). Alamgir II murdered.
— — 30	(Rabi-us-Sani 9, 1173 A.H.). Khan-i-Khanan Intizam-ud-Daulah strangled to death.
	Shah Jahan II raised to the throne of Delhi.
— December 10	(Rabi-us-Sani 19, 1173 A.H.). Najib-ud-Daulah wrote to Maharajah Sawai Madho Singh.
	Ahmad Shah encamped at Khizarabad.
— — 20	Dattaji crossed the Jamuna.
— — 21	Shah Alam II received news of his father's death.

—	—	24	(Paush Sudi 5, 1681 Shaka, 1816 Bk.). Marathas collide with Afghans.
			Shah Alam II proclaimed himself Emperor of Delhi.
—	—	27	Dattaji left Kunjpura and moved towards Delhi.
—	—	29	Dattaji reached Sonepat.
			Ahmad Shah wrote to Raja of Jaipur.
—	x	x	Rebellion of Naseer Khan of Kalat.
1760	January	4	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 15, 1173 A.H.). Dattaji went to Barari.
—	—	7	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 18, 1173 A.H.). Dattaji visited Delhi.
—	—	9	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 20, 1173 A.H., Paush Vadi 8, 1816 Bk.) Najib Khan crossed the Jamuna
—	—	16	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 27, 1173 A.H.). Najib Khan and Abdul Ahad Khan visited the shrine of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya.
—	—	17	(Jamadi-ul-Awwal 28, 1173 A.H.). Sadullah Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, etc., visited the shrine of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya.
—	—	21	Shah visited the mausoleum of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya.
—	—	27	Shah left Khizarabad.
—	—	28	Robert Clive handed over charge of governorship of Bengal to John Z. Holwell.
—	February	6	Shah reached Dig.
—	—	11	Marathas defeated by Afghans.
—	—	18	Shah moved to Rewari
			Shah wrote to Raja of Jaipur.
—	—	22	Marathas reappeared at Bahadurgarh.
—	—	28	Malhar Rao Holkar reached Sikandarabad.
—	March	4	Marathas surprised and dispersed by Afghans in a night attack near Sikandarabad.
—	—	5	Shah reached Aligarh (Kol).
—	x	x	(Shaban, early) Ahmad Khan Bangash invited by Shah.
—	—	31	(Shaban 13, 1173 A.H.). Ahmad Khan Bangash paid a visit to Shah.
—	May	30	Maratha army reached Gwalior.
—	June	8	Maratha army reached Dhaulpur.
—	July	14	Maratha army reached Agra.
—	—	18	(Zil-Hijja 4, 1173 A.H.). Shah Wali Khan went out to receive Shujah-ud-Daulah.
—	—	22	Delhi fell to Marathas.

— — 27	John Z. Holwell handed over charge of governorship of Bengal to Henry Vansittart.
— August 2	Delhi fort captured by Sadashiva Rao Maratha.
— — 12	Sadashiv Bhau left Delhi.
— October 10	Bhau left for Kunjpura.
	Shah Jahan II deposed and Shah Alam II made Emperor of Delhi.
— — 16	Bhau reached Kunjpura.
— October 20	(Rabi-ul-Awwal 10, 1174 A.H.). Shah moved northward.
	Mir Qasim appointed Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in place of Mir Jaffar.
— — 25	Afghan army crossed the Jamuna.
— — 26	Shah crossed the Jamuna.
— — 27	Shah Pasand Khan defeated Maratha patrol at Sonepat.
— — 28-30	Shah halted at Ganaur.
— — 29	Sadashiv returned to Panipat.
— — 31	Shah arrived at Sambhalka.
— November	Sikhs fell upon Lahore.
— — 1	Shah arrived at Panipat.
— — 19	Fateh Ali Khan carried away Shah's artillery.
— — 22	Shah Wali Khan surprised by Sindhia's troops.
— December 7	Marathas opened gun-fire upon Ruhilas.
1761 January 6	Maratha troops reached Panipat with money.
— — 13	Maratha officers conferred with Sadashiv.
— — 14	Battle of Panipat. Ahmad Shah defeated the Marathas.
— — 15	Shah entered Panipat.
— — 29	Shah reached Delhi.
	Shah Alam II confirmed Emperor of India.
— February 10	Afghan Vakil Kulraj met the Peshwa.
— — 21	Najib-ud-Daulah presented to the Shah the envoys of Jats.
— March 1	Mr. Vansittart expresses obedience of the English to Shah Alam II.
— — 5	Same as above.
— — 7	Shah Wali Khan marched towards Agra.
— — 11	(Shaban 4, 1174 A.H.). Mir Qasim paid visit to Shah Alam II.

— — 13	Shah sent out his *Pesh-khana* for return journey to Afghanistan.
— — 20	Peshwa left for the Deccan. Shah left for Afghanistan.
— — 27	Shah reached Ambala from Delhi.
— — 29	(Shaban 22, 1174 A.H.). Ala Singh declared ruler of Patiala
— April 7	Najib-ud-Daulah became Shah's regent in Delhi.
— — 26	Shah arrived at Lahore on his way back.
— June 23	Peshwa Balaji Rao died.
— July 20	Madhav Rao became Peshwa
— October 27	Sikhs celebrated Dewali at Amritsar.
1762 February 3	(Rajjab 9, 1175 A.H.). Shah marched against Sikhs from Lahore.
— — 4	(Rajjab 10, 1175 A.H.). Shah sent despatch to Zain Khan of Sirhind.
— — 5	(Rajjab 11, 1175 A.H.). The great massacre of the Sikhs by Ahmad Shah (The second *Ghalughara*).
— — 15	Shah left Sirhind for Lahore.
— March 3	Shah reached Lahore.
— April 10	The Sikh temple at Amritsar blown with gun-powder by the Shah. Shah hit on the nose by a flying piece of brick
— — 15	Najib-ud-Daulah returned to Delhi.
— April-May	(Vaisakh, Shaka 1684) Sikhs defeated Zain Khan of Sirhind.
— October 16	Shah reached Amritsar from Lahore.
— — 17	Shah withdrew when attacked by Sikhs.
— December 12	Shah left Lahore for Afghanistan.
1763 November	Jahan Khan entered the Rachna Doab.
— December	Siege of Malerkotla by Sikhs; Bhikhan Khan of Malerkotla killed in battle.
— — 25	Suraj Mall Jat killed.
1763-64	Provinces of Sirhind, Lahore, and Multan captured by Sikhs.
1764 January 14	(Magh 4, 1820 Bk.). Zain Khan killed in battle with the Sikhs.
— February 20	Sikhs ransacked Saharanpur.
— — x x	Sikhs at Lahore Khwaja Ubaid Khan killed.
— October	Shah moved to India.
— December 1	Shah entered Sikh temple at Amritsar, opposed by Sikhs under Gurbakhash Singh.

1765 February *middle*	Peace concluded between the Ruhilas and the Jats.
— March *end*	Shah left the Panjab.
— April 10	Sikhs decided by a *Gurmata* to occupy Lahore.
— — 16	(Tuesday, Baisakh Vadi 11, 1822 Bk.). Sikhs occupied Lahore.
—August 7	(Bhadon Vadi 6, 1822 Bk.). Ala Singh of Patiala died.
1766 November	Shah descended upon the Panjab for the eighth time.
— December	Shah reached Gujrat.
— — 10	Shah left Sialkot and encamped at Jhangi (Jamke).
— — 15	Shah left Jamke (Jhangi).
— — 21	Shah continued his march from Eminabad.
— — 30	Shah reached Amritsar.
1767 January 1	Shah moved towards Jandiala.
— — x x	News of the Shah's intention to invade India spread.
— — 15	Shah wrote to Sikh Sardars to enter his service or to meet him in battle.
— — 17	Sikhs worsted Jahan Khan near Amritsar.
— March x	Shah crossed the Sutlej to the south.
— — 17	Shah left Ismailabad for reurn journey.
— — 18	Shah reached Ambala.
— — 23	Shah arrived near Machhiwara on the Sutlej.
— May 11	Najib-ud-Daulah took leave of Shah.
— — 19	Sikhs crossed the Jamuna and entered the territory of Najib-ud-Daulah.
1768	(1182 A H). Shah Wali Khan deputed to keep peace in Balakh and Bukhara. Nasarullah Mirza went to enlist co-operation of Kurds against the Shah.
1769 *beginning*	Shah made his last attempt at taking the Panjab.
1769-70	(1183 A.H.). Shah marched to Khurasan.
1770 March 17	Mir Qasim wrote to Nizam of Hyderabad saying that Ahmad Shah was too busy to help him.
— June 3	(Safar 8, 1184 A.H.). Ahmad Shah left Mashhad for Qandahar.
1771 January 6	Shah Alam II returned to Delhi.
— August 19	General Barker wrote to Jhanda Singh Bhangi.

1772 October 16-17[1]	(Rajjab 20, 1186 A.H.). Ahmad Shah Durrani died at Toba-Maruf in the Suleman hills.
1793 May 18	(Shawwal 7, 1207 A.H.). Taimur Shah died.
1800	Zaman Shah defeated and blinded by his brother Mahmood.
1803	Shah Shujah ousted Mahmood.
1809	Mahmood turned out Shah Shujah from Afghanistan.
1818	Throne of Afghanistan seized by the Barakzeis.
	Nawab Muzaffar Khan of Multan killed in battle against the Sikhs.

1. The corresponding A.D. date of Ahmad Shah Durrani's death, 20th Rajjab, 1186 A.H., has been given in the text on p. 326 as October 23, 1772, according to C. S. Tarakalankar and P. N. Saraswati's *Chronological Tables* and Nawal Kishore's *Taqweem-i-Yaksad-o-Dosala* (1764-1865)). According to Swamikannu Pillai's *An Indian Ephemeris*, vol. VI, and Abu-an-Nasar Muhammad Khalidi's *Taqweem-i-Hijri-o-Isawi*, it works out to be October 16-17, 1772, as given above.

The A.D. date of Nadir Shah's death corresponding to 11th Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 1160 A.H., has been given in the text on p. 21 as June 19-20, 1747 (New Style), as given in Lockhart's *Nadir Shah*, p. 261-62. According to Pillai's *An Indian Ephemeris*, it falls on the night of June 8-9, 1747, as given in the Chronology above (p. 398).

In the conversion of dates, I have generally followed Swamikannu Pillai's *An Indian Ephemeris*.

Appendix IX

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF AFGHANI, IRANI, INDIAN, ENGLISH AND HIJRI MONTHS AND DAYS

As the Muhammadan or Al-Hijri (A.H.) and the Indian or Bikrami (Bk.) dates are at many places mentioned side by side with the Christian dates in the text, the names of the months and days of all these calendars are given in tabular form for ready reference.

The Hijri era began with the departure of Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina, which took place on the night of July 15, 622 A.D. It is reckoned from the dawn of the following day, viz., July 16. The Muhammadan year is strictly lunar, consisting of twelve months, each of which counts from the actual visibility of the new moon; but chronologically the months are completed at 30 and 29 days, making the year consist of 354 days, eleven days behind the solar year.

The Bikrami era of India began 57 years before the Christian era. Its years and months are both solar and lunar. The solar Bikrami year is of 365 days like the Christian year. Up to the 2nd of September, 1752, before the reform and the consequent change in the dates of the Christian year, the months of the Bikrami solar year ran side by side with those of the English year with a difference of a day or two in the dates. On the 3rd of September, 1752, the date was changed to 14th September This introduced a difference of 11 days. Since the change in the English calendar, the Indian solar months begin about the middle of the English months.

The Saka or Shaka era is reckoned from the reign of Salivahana commencing in 79 A.D (Anno Domini). It is identified with the latter by adding 78¼.

The names of Indian solar and lunar months are the same.

The dark half (the *Krishna, Bahula* or *Andhera paksha*) of the Indian lunar month is called *Vadi, Vadya* or *Badi,* and the light half (*Shukla* or *Chandna paksha*) is known as *Sudi* or *Shudha.* The dates of all solar and Hijri lunar months are counted in a regular serial order up to the end, but in the case of Indian lunar months they are counted up to the end of the *paksha* or dark or light half of the month, e g , *Vadi* 1 to 15 (*Amavas,* moonless) in the *Krishna paksha,* and *Sudi* 1 to 15 (*Puran-masi,* full moon) of the *Shukla paksha.*

The annual difference of 11 days between the Indian lunar and solar years is made up in the third (lunar) year by adding one month, called the *Adhik* or *Laund.*

The Afghani year is solar and has the same month-names as the Arab and Irani signs of the Zodiac.

Table I

Afghani, Irani, Indian, English and Hijri months and Signs of Zodiac

Serial Order	NAMES OF MONTHS				SIGNS OF ZODIAC				*Al-Hijri Months*
	Afghani	*Irani*	*Indian*	*English*	*Arab and Irani*	*Indian*	*Latin*	*English*	
1.	Hamal	Farwardin	Basakh, Vaishakha	April	Hamal	Mesha, Mekh	Aries	Ram	Muharram
2	Saur	Ardibihisht	Jeth, Jaishtha	May	Saur	Vrishabha, Birkh	Taurus	Bull	Safar
3.	Jauza	Khurdad	Harh, Asharh	June	Juauza	Mithun	Gemini	Human Couple	Rabi-ul-Awwal
4.	Saratan	Tir	Sawan, Shrawana	July	Saratan	Karka	Cancer	Crab	Rabi-us-Sani
5.	Asad	Amardad	Bhadon, Bhadrapada	August	Asad	Singh	Leo	Lion	Jamadi-ul-Awwal
6.	Sumbla	Shahriwar	Assuj, Kuar, Ashwin	September	Sumbla	Kanya	Virgo	Virgin	Jamadi-us-Sani
7.	Mizan	Mihr	Katik, Kartika	October	Mizan	Tula	Libra	Scales	Rajjab
8.	Aqrab	Aban	Maghar, Aghan, Margasirsha	November	Aqrab	Vrischik	Scorpio	Scorpion	Shaban
9.	Qaus	Azar	Poh, Pos, Pausha	December	Qaus	Dhanus, Dhan	Saggitarius	Archer	Ramzan
10.	Jady	Dai	Magh	January	Jady	Makar	Capricorn	Crocodile	Shawwal
11.	Dalw	Bahman	Phalguna Phagan	February	Dalw	Kumbha	Acquarius	Waterpitcher	Zi-qada
12.	Hoot	Isfandarmuz	Chet, Chaitra	March	Hoot	Meen	Pisces	Fish	Zil-Hijja

For the convenience of readers and ready reference, Irani names and Zodiac signs have also been added to the Christian, Indian and Hijri names of months in the table given above. As the Hijri months are lunar and the annual difference of about 11 days is not made up as in the Indian lunar years, they do not run parallel to any solar months. They are, therefore, shown separately at the end and should not be taken as corresponding to any other months in the table.

TABLE II

DAYS OF THE WEEK

No.	*English*	*Afghani-Irani*	*Arab*	*Indian*
1.	Sunday	Yak Shamba	Yaum-ul-Ahad	Aitwar, Raviwar
2.	Monday	Do Shamba	Yaum-ul-Isnain	Somwar
3.	Tuesday	Seh Shamba	Yaum-us-Salasa	Mangalwar
4.	Wednesday	Chahar Shamba	Yaum-ul-Arba	Budhwar
5.	Thursday	Panj Shamba, Jumarat	Yaum-ul-Khamis	Virwar, Brihaspat-war
6.	Friday	Juma	Yaum-u-Juma	Shukarwar
7.	Saturday	Shamba, Hafta	Yaum-us-Saba	Shanichar-war Shaniwar

Appendix X

SOME BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

As far as possible, this account of Ahmad Shah's life has been based on contemporary records, using the secondary sources only for purposes of corroborative evidence It is only when contemporary authorities were not available that recourse was had to the works of later writers who either drew upon earlier works, no longer extant or readily available, or who based their narratives on the oral accounts of eye-witnesses and contemporaries. In this Appendix are briefly described some of the important contemporary manuscripts and records that have been used. Smaller notes on less important works have been given in the Bibliography.

NIZAM-UD-DIN ISHRAT SIALKOTI

Nizam-ud-Din Ishrat was a favourite poet of Ahmad Shah. He was a resident of Sialkot in the Panjab. He tells us in Sections 64-66 of his *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya* that on the Shah's return march from Delhi, in the summer of 1757, he came from Sialkot, paid homage to his Afghan Majesty on the western side of the river Chenab and accompanied him to Kabul. The Shah was pleased to receive him and, impressed by his poetical account of Nadir Shah, called the *Shah-Namah-i-Nadiri* or *Nadir Namah* (completed in 1162 A.H., 1749 A.D.), desired him to compose an account of his own reign. The Shah soon became fond of his company and called him every night to his presence. Nizam-ud-Din, however, wished to return home to be able to complete his work in solitude. The Shah, at his request, ordered Mirza Mahmud of the *Dar-ul-Insha* to supply him with the necessary documents. With the requisite material in his possession, Nizam-ud-Din returned to Sialkot and composed the *Shah Namah*. It is written in the form of a Masnavi. The manuscript which I have had access to comprises 614 pages of 19 lines each, and is divided into 115 chapters. The *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya* is a unique poetical account of the reign of Ahmad Shah. It concludes with the death of the Shah and the accession of his son Taimur Shah in 1772.

Nizam-ud-Din gives no dates, nor does he relate his story in a simple narrative style. He allows a fair amount of play to his imagination and exaggerates in favour of the Shah. But in spite of these defects, the *Shah Namah* is a useful contemporary account written by one who knew the Shah personally and had access to firsthand material both from official and non-official sources. The details he gives of some of the Shah's Indian exploits, particularly in the Panjab and Kashmir, are not found in any other work. The poet accompanied Sardar Nur-ud-Din Bamezei to Kashmir in the summer of 1762 and was appointed an Amin, a judicial functionary, on the conquest of the valley. He was, thus, an eye-witness of the various events connected with the Kashmir expedition, and his *Shah Namah* is the only source of information about them.

Only three copies of this very rare manuscript are known to exist. One is in the Asafiya Library, Hyderabad (Deccan), under Tarikh-i-Farsi No. 2062. The second, in the Khalsa College, Amritsar (Sikh History Research Department), under No. 252, was transcribed by Munshi Faiz-ul-Haq Amritsari from the Hyderabad copy under my instructions. The third copy is available in the British Museum, London, under No. Add. 26, 285 Parts II and III. I have used the Amritsar copy.

MAHMUD-UL-MUSANNAI SON OF IBRAHIM AL-HUSAINI

Mahmud-ul-Musannai was a close associate of Mirza Muhammad Mahdi Kaukabi Astarabadi, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Nadiri.* Ahmad Shah admired the prose style of this work. He, therefore, selected Mahmud in 1167 A.H., 1754 A.D., at Mashhad and appointed him a Munshi in his secretariat, the *Dar-ul-Insha,* and deputed him to compile a history of his reign in a style similar to that of Mirza Mahdi's *Tarikh-i-Nadiri.* Mahmud wrote this work under the title of *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi,* and an abridgment of it called the *Mulakhis Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi.* There is a unique copy of the former in the British Museum, London, under No. Or. 106. I have a rotograph copy of it in my own collection. The book is incomplete and closes with the marriage of Prince Taimur with a daughter of Alamgir II of Delhi. In the end it treats of

some remarkable traits of the Shah. An incomplete copy of it is also available in the Bombay University Library. The remaining portion of the history down to the death of Ahmad Shah and the accession of his son Taimur Shah is found in another British Museum manuscript, No. Or. 2059, X, foll. 50, 53-66.

IMAM-UD-DIN AL-HUSAINI

Imam-ud-Din al-Husaini was a disciple of Khwaja Abu Muhsin Husain Husaini Chishti Madudi Kumhari of Lucknow. He went to Lahore in 1796-97 when Shah Zaman invaded the Panjab, and accompanied his army to Peshawar on its return march. At Peshawar he devoted himself to composing a history of Shah Zaman and his ancestors. He returned to Lucknow in 1798, and received from his Pir, Khwaja Husain, a rough draft of a history of Ahmad Shah and his son Taimur which he incorporated in his own work. The work was completed on 20th Jamādī-us-Sānī, 1213 A.H., November 28, 1798, and was named *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi* after the *Pir*. It is also called *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, *Ma'rkah-i-Durrania* and *Tarikh Nasab Namah-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*.

It is one of the very few running narratives of Ahmad Shah and his two successors. I have used the Bankipore copy.

ABDUL KARIM KASHMIRI

Abdul Karim, the author of the *Bayan-i-Waqei*, entered the service of Nadir Shah in 1739 when he was in Delhi and accompanied him to Persia He was at Qazwin in 1741. From there he went to Mecca and returned to Delhi in 1743. The *Bayan-i-Waqei* is an account of his travels and of contemporary history up to 1785. The first chapter of the book is devoted to Nadir's invasion of India, and the fourth and fifth to events of the reigns of Emperors Muhammad Shah and Ahmad Shah of Delhi, who were contemporaries of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

TARIKH-I-AHMAD SHAHI

The *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* is a contemporary history of the reign of Ahmad Shah who came to the throne of Delhi

after the death of his father, Emperor Muhammad Shah, in April, 1748, and was deposed and imprisoned on June 2, 1754. The anonymous author of this work says that he "was present throughout and saw with his own eyes the utter misery of Emperor Ahmad and wept." This work, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, is "by far the fullest and most accurate history of this reign." As such, it is extremely useful for the Mughal-side details of the first three Indian invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

I have consulted the rotograph copy of the British Museum manuscript obtained by me from Sir Jadunath Sarkar for the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

TAHMAS KHAN MUKHIM-UD-DAULAH ITIQAD JANG

The original name of Tahmas Khan, the author of the *Tahmas Namah,* was Timur. He was born of Armenian, Georgian or Turkish parents in a village near Bayazid in Asia Minor. While yet an infant, he was carried away as a slave by the Uzbak soldiers of Nadir Shah. In the summer of 1748 his Uzbak master, a Jamadar, came from Multan to Lahore and took up service in the army of Muin-ul-Mulk. Timur and two other Turkish boys, aged eight or nine years, were presented to Muin who had Timur trained for military service. After the death of his new master, which took place in November, 1753, he continued in the service of his widow, Mughlani Begam, who for some time held the charge of the Panjab province. He was one of her confidants when she was removed to Delhi by Ghazi-ud-Din in 1756 and played a prominent part in the negotiations with His Afghan Majesty Ahmad Shah and his prime minister, Shah Wali Khan, during his fourth invasion of India. He was well received and honoured by Prince Taimur during his viceroyalty of Lahore in 1757 and raised to the rank of Khan, changing his original name to Tahmas Khan.

Tahmas Khan incurred the displeasure of Mughlani Begam by his opposition to her intended second marriage and sought safety in flight to Nawab Zain Khan of Sirhind. He finally repaired to Delhi and entered the service of Nawab Zabita Khan, son of Najib-ud-Daulah, and, later on, of Zulfiqar-ud-Daulah Nawab Najaf Khan who was his chief

when he wrote these memoirs in 1193 A.H., 1779 A.D., the date mentioned in the chronogram given at the end of the book. He had by that time acquired considerable wealth and obtained the title of Mukhim-ud-Daulah Itiqad Jang from His Majesty Shah Alam II.

The *Tahmas Namah,* also called the *Tarikh-i-Tahmas,* was the third work of Tahmas Khan. He had previously written two works in the Turki language, viz., a sketch of his life and a Turki manual called the *Ahmad Namah.* The *Ahmad Namah* was, perhaps, an account of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

Tahmas Khan narrates in great detail the various events of his life and the military transactions, in which he bore an active part, and other contemporary happenings. As a source of useful contemporary material, the *Tahmas Namah* bears very much the same character as the *Bayan-i-Waqei* of Abdul Karim. But Tahmas Khan mentions no dates.

Tahmas Khan has been wrongly called *Miskin* by some writers beginning with Sir Henry Elliott, who says that this was his pen-name. Writing in the third person singular, Tahmas Khan mentions himself as *'In miskin'* like *'In banda', 'In nachiz', 'In khadim',* etc., of some other writers, meaning 'this humble person', 'this slave', 'this non-entity', 'this servant'. *Miskin* was not Tahmas Khan's pen-name. A pen-name is used in poetry only

I have used the British Museum, London, manuscript, a rotograph of which was obtained by me from Sir Jadunath Sarkar for the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

TARIKH-I-ALAMGIR SANI

The *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani* is a detailed contemporary record of the events of the reign of Alamgir II narrated with great chronological precision, from his accession on the 10th of Shaban, 1167 A.H., June 2, 1754, to his death on the 8th Rabi-us-Sani, 1173 A.H., November 29, 1759. The name of the author is not mentioned anywhere. It is an extremely useful work on the fourth Indian invasion of Ahmad Shah (1756-57) and other contemporary events. I have used the rotograph copy of the British Museum manuscript in the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

SAYYAD NUR-UD-DIN HASAN

Sayyad Nur-ud-Din Hasan, the author of the *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah,* was a personal servant of Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk and, as such, closely connected with most of the events narrated by him in his work on Najib-ud-Daulah who was the most trusted Indian ally and agent of Ahmad Shah. His narrative is, therefore, the most accurate and dependable for the Shah's fourth and fifth Indian invasions.

I have consulted the rotograph copy of the British Museum manuscript in the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

The work has been translated into English by Sir Jadunath Sarkar and published in the *Islamic Culture,* July and October, 1933, and April, 1934.

QAZI NUR MUHAMMAD

Qazi Nur Muhammad of Gunjaba, the author of the *Jang Namah,* was an eye-witness of the events recorded by him. He accompanied the Baluch crusaders of Mir Naseer Khan of Kalat to the Panjab against the Sikhs in the winter of 1764 when Ahmad Shah invaded India for the seventh time. He offered to write an account of the crusade, provided the Khan appointed him the Qazi of Shikarpur or of the Deras when His Afghan Majesty, on his victorious return from the Panjab, bestowed those territories upon him as a reward for his services. Mir Naseer Khan willingly acceded to the request. Thus came to be written this *Jang Namah,* the only detailed account of the Shah's seventh invasion of India. Before this work was discovered by the late Sardar Karam Singh in the Gazetteer Office of Quetta and was edited, translated into English and published by me in 1939, the seventh Indian invasion of the Shah (1764-65) was either omitted altogether, or it was confused with that of the year 1767 or was just dismissed in a few lines. It is from the *Jang Namah* alone that we learn that the Sikhs had extended their conquests as far as Multan, crossed the river Indus and entered the Deras by the middle of 1764, within a few months of the conquest of Sirhind. This was one of the reasons which had brought the Shah to India that year.

It is true that the *Jang Namah* presents only one side of the picture and that too from a bigoted crusader's angle of vision. But that does not detract much from its historical value In spite of his strong prejudice against the Sikhs, whom he remembers in no better words than dogs, dogs of hell, accursed infidels, unclean idolators, fire-worshippers, etc., his description of the character of the Sikhs of the eighteenth century is invaluable to the students of history. And its value is immeasurably enhanced when we know that it is from the pen of one of their worst enemies, who prayed to God and appealed to the crusaders to destroy them root and branch. In short, the book has a great significance as a comtemporary historical document for the history of Ahmad Shah and the Sikhs.

SHIV PRASAD

Shiv Prasad compiled his work, the *Tarikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh,* at the desire of General Kirkpatrick in 1190 A.H. (1775-1776 A.D.) for his brother Captain Kirkpatrick who wished to acquaint himself with the history of the Ruhila Afghans of Katehr from the time of Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan, when they first acquired power, to the affair of Laldog in order that he might translate it into English. The narrative was completed in March, 1776.

Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan was the ruler of Sirhind when Ahmad Shah invaded India for the first time in 1748.

The *Tarikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh* is a contemporary history of the Ruhila Afghans in India, particularly of the descendants of Ali Muhammad Khan, who appear so often on the scene in the first and subsequent invasions of Ahmad Shah. It throws a good deal of sidelight on the Panjab affairs.

There is another work of the same name (*Tarikh-i-Faiz Baksh*) by Faiz Bakhsh of Faizabad. As this also treats of the same period, it should not be confounded with Shiv Prasad's *Tarikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh*

CALENDARS OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE

The English summaries of all the Persian letters and news-sheets received by the government of the East India Company and replies thereto have been compiled, edited and

published under the orders of the Government of India Imperial Record Department, now called the National Archives, in 9 volumes and the series is being continued. They contain firsthand original material on the history of the periods covered by them. The first three volumes for the years 1759-1767, 1767-69 and 1770-72 contain a good deal of useful material on Ahmad Shah.

SELECTIONS FROM PESHWA DAFTAR

Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, edited by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai and published by the Government of Bombay, in 46 volumes, contain Marathi despatches and other State papers received from Maratha army camps, civil officials and news-agents from different parts of the country. The second volume of these Selections is devoted to the battle of Panipat and a number of others to North Indian affairs which contain references to the activities of Ahmad Shah Durrani. In many respects the Marathi records, printed in this and other series, which have been mentioned in the Bibliography, are more correct and useful than the Calendars of Persian Correspondence because in the former there is less possibility of mistakes through incorrect transcription, misreading of names of persons and places in Shikasta writings and faulty translations.

MUHAMMAD ALI KHAN ANSARI

Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari bin Izzat-ud-Daulah Hidayat-ullah Khan, son of Shams-ud-Daulah Lutfullah Khan, was a *darogha* of the Faujdari Adalat of Tirhut and Hajipur, appointed by his patron Sayyad Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan Muzafar Jang Naib Nazim of Bengal and Behar who died at Murshidabad in 1206 A.H., 1792 A.D. He combined a judicious mind with a keen sense of accuracy. His voluminous work known as the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* evidently named after his patron, is considered to be one of the most accurate general histories of India.

He was a contemporary of Ahmad Shah and his account of the Indian invasions of the Shah is very useful. I have consulted the copy in the Khalsa College, Amritsar, transcribed from the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Bankipore, and com-

pared and completed at the Asafiya Library, Hyderabad, Deccan, by Munshi Faizul Haq under my instructions.

Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari's other two works are :

(i) *Bahr-ul-Mawwaj,* a general history of India to the death of Emperor Muhammad Shah ;

(ii) *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah,* a short history of the reign of Emperor Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah.

Inayatullah Khan Rasikh and Nawab Shakir Khan, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Shakir Khan,* were paternal uncles of Muhammad Ali Khan.

BUDH SINGH ARORA

Budh Singh Arora of Lahore and his collaborator, Lala Ajaib Singh Suraj of Malerkotla, were contemporaries of Ahmad Shah. They wrote a treatise on the Sikhs called the *Risalah-i-Nanak Shah* some twelve years after the death of Ahmad Shah. It was compiled for Major James Browne who was sent from Calcutta to Delhi in 1784 by the Government of the East India Company as the English minister to the court of His Majesty Shah Alam II.

Major Browne tells us that "two Hindoos of considerable knowledge had in their possession accounts of the rise and progress of the Sicks written in the Nuggary (or common Hindoo) characters. I persuaded them to let me have a translation of one of them in the Persian language, abridging it as much as they could do without injuring the essential purpose of information." It was on this Persian sketch that Major Browne based his 'History of the Origin and Progress of the Sicks' completed in September, 1787, and printed in 1788, as the second of his 'India Tracts'. Although very sketchy, the *Risalah-i-Nanak Shah* is quite useful regarding Afghan-Sikh relations. I have used the British Museum manuscript, of which a rotograph was secured by me for the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

BAKHT MALL

Bakht Mall's parents belonged to Kashmir. His father migrated to Lahore and attained high position. In the early sixties of the eighteenth century he seems to have left for Delhi where Bakht Mall was probably born and educated.

Bakht Mall enjoyed the company of Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal, a great patron of learning and learned men, and wrote a detailed history of the Sikhs which was stolen by thieves. In the end of 1805 he accompanied John Malcolm on a mission to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and wrote a short account of the Sikhs which was taken away by Malcolm and used for his 'Sketch of the Sikhs', London, 1812. The *Khalsa Namah* is Bakht Mall's third work on the subject and is a very useful source of material for the eighteenth century struggles of the Sikhs against the local Mughal governors and Ahmad Shah Durrani.

RATAN SINGH BHANGU

Ratan Singh Bhangu's *Prachin Panth Prakash* is a first-rate secondary source, almost as good as a contemporary authority. He was a grandson of Sardar Mehtab Singh of Mirankot on the father's side and of Sardar Shyam Singh of Narli, the first leader of the Karorsinghia Misal, on the mother's side. His father, Rai Singh, was a member of the Buddha Dal and had taken part in many a struggle with the local rulers and Afghan invaders. It was on the basis of information received from his father and other eye-witnesses and contemporaries, many of whom were personally known or related to Ratan Singh, that he wrote his account of the Sikhs at the suggestion of Captain Murray, the British Political Agent at Ludhiana. Captain Murray had also deputed his Munshi Bute Shah alias Ghulam Muhy-ud-Din Alavi Qadri to write a detailed history of the Sikhs.

Ratan Singh himself was also an eye-witness of some of the events of the eighteenth century recorded by him.

The *Prachin Panth Prakash* is, therefore, one of the most important and useful works on the Afghan-Sikhs struggles for supremacy in the Panjab which continued to the end of the eighteenth century.

According to the chronogram given at the end of the book, it was completed in 1898 Bk., 1841 A.D.

It is mostly on this work that Giani Gian Singh based his *Panth Prakash,* published in 1936 Bk. (1880 A.D.), and the second and third parts of his *Tawarikh-Guru Khalsa* published in 1892-94.

APPENDIX XI

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

ALP	Archives Library, Patiala.
ASB	Asiatic Society of Bengal (now called the Asiatic Society), Calcutta.
BIS	Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona.
BLC	Buhar Library (in the National Library) Calcutta.
BNP	Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
BM	British Museum, London.
BUL	Bombay University Library, Bombay
DAD	Dar-ul-Ulum, Deoband.
DSL	Dayal Singh Library, Lahore.
EUL	Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh.
GS	Ganda Singh, Retired Director of Archives, Patiala.
HSL	Hyderabad State (Asafiya) Library, Hyderabad (Deccan).
IHC	Indian History Congress.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
IHRC	Indian Historical Records Commission.
IO	India Office, London
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JNS	Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta.
JPUHS	Journal of the Panjab University Hist. Society, Lahore.
JSL	Jind State Library, Sangrur (now Archives Library, Patiala).
KCA	Khalsa College, Amritsar.
KSL	Kapurthala State Library (Toshekhana), Kapurthala (now Archives Library, Patiala).
MUA	Muslim University Library, Aligarh.
ND	Not dated.
OPB	(Khuda Bakhsh) Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna.
OUH	Osmania Universiy Library, Hyderabad (Deccan).
PPL	Panjab Public Library, Lahore (Pakistan).
PUL	Panjab University Library, Lahore (Pakistan).
RAS	Royal Asiatic Society, London
RLM	John Rylands Library, Manchester.
RLS	Raghubir Library, Sitamau
RSL	Rampur (U.P.) State Library, Rampur (U P.).
SHA	Sikh History Society, Amritsar and Patiala.
SJH	Salar Jang Bahadur's Library, Hyderabad (Deccan).
VSA	Dr. Bhai Vir Singh, Amritsar.

PERSIAN

Abdul Karim Alavi. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad,* also called *Tawarikh-i-Ahmadi,* Mustafai Press, Lucknow, 1850. MS. ALP.

Abdul Karım Kashmıri. *Bayan-i-Waqei.* MS. 1166 A.H., 1752-53 A.D. IO., BM, PPL., PUL., BLC., KCA. Contemporary, very useful for the first invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

Abdul Karim Nadım ibn Ismail Bukhari *Afghan va Kabul va Bukhara va Khivaq va Khanlarinin Ahwal* A History of Central Asia from 1160 A.H., 1747 A.D., the year of Ahmad Shah's accession, to 1233 A.H, 1818 A.D., the year of the composition of the manuscript. BNP.

The particulars of the printed edition are: Vol. I (Persian Text), Bulaq, 1873. Vol. II (French Translation), Histoire de L' Asie Centrale (Afghanistan, Boukhare, Khiva, Khoqand) depuis les dernieres annees du regne de Nadır Chah (1153), jusquen 1233 de l'Hgire (1740-1818) par Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary publiee, traduite et annotee par Charles Schefer, Paris, 1876.

Abdul Latif of Kharkhauda. *Ahmad Namah.* MS. IO. A contemporary, more or less, metrical account of Ahmad Shah, completed 20th Jamadi I, 1184. A.H., 11th September, 1770 A.D

Abdul Qadir Khan alias Ghulam Qadir Khan Jaisi. *Tarikh-i-Imad-ul-Mulk.* MS., N.D. OPB., KCA., IO.

Abdul Rahman, called Shah Nawaz Khan. *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa.* MS. 1217 A.H., 1802 A.D. OPB., KCA, ALP.

Abul Hasan Ibn Muhammad Amin Gulistani. *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh pas az Nadir,* edited by Oskar Mann, Leiden, 1896 A.D. (Completed in 1782 A.D) Partly translated into English by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in Modern Review, Calcutta, 1929, Vol. XLV.

It is a history of Shah Rukh Mirza, grandson of Nadir. There is a manuscript in the Aligarh University Abdus-Salam Section No. 434/28, under the title of *Giti Kusha-i-Tarikh-i-Karim Khan,* of which this work, less the first eight pages of Introduction, and with a few slight variations, forms the first part Another copy of this work, without the first pages, as mentioned above, is available in the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

Ahmad Ali Kohzad. *Risalah-i-Maskukat-i-Afghanistan dar Asr-i-Islam* Kabul, 1319 Shammasi.

Ahmad Shah Batalia. *Tarikh-i-Hind, Bayan-i-Ahwal-i-Mulk-i-Hind wa Maluk-i-An.* MS. 1233 A.H., 1817-18 A.D. Gives many new things about the Shah's life in India, particularly regarding his visits to the saints of Batala. DSL, KCA.

—— *Zikr-i-Guruan-va-Ibtida-i-Singhan-va-Mazhab-i-Eshan.* It forms the concluding portion of the above manuscript; also printed as an appendix to the 1st and the 2nd volumes of Sohan Lal Suri's *Umda-tu-Tawarikh.*

Ahmad Shah Durrani *Loe Ahmad Shah* A collection of Ahmad Shah Durrani's *ghazals,* compiled by Abdul Hay Khan Habibi. Kabul, 1319 Afghani, 1940 (Pashto).

Ahmad Jan Khan. *Tarikh-i-Afghanistan.* Peshawar (Pashto).

Ahmad Yadgar. *Tarıkh-ı-Salatın-ı-Afaghana.* MS. ND. PPL., KSA. A history of the Afghan kings and of the Afghan families in India. It contains very useful information on Ahmad Shah.

Ahwal-i-Adına Beg Khan, said to have been written by a Sodhi (Guru) of Kartarpur, Panjab. MS. ND. BM., PUL, KCA., GS. The Sodhı-Guru of Kartarpur in the Jullundur district of the Panjab (India), who was a contemporary of Adına Beg Khan and was closely associated with him in his struggle against the Afghans, was Wadbhag Singh. But he is not known to be a writer, much less a writer in Persian. In all probability the *Ahwal-ı-Adına Beg Khan* was written by some disciple or *munshı* of Sodhı Wadbhag Singh The booklet is marred by a number of mistakes in facts and dates. I have consulted the rotograph copy of the Brıtish Museum manuscript secured by me.

Akbharat-i-Mualla. MS. Collection of news-letters. BIS. (Also called Parasnis Papers).

Alavı, Abdul Karim. See Abdul Karim Alavî.

Ali Ibrahim Khan. *Tarıkh-i-Janko-o-Bhau.* MS. ND. RSL., KCA. Ali Ibrahim Khan was a native of Patna and author of several voluminous works. He held the office of Chief Magistrate in Banaras where he died in 1208 A.H , 1793-94 A.D. He completed this booklet in 1201 A.H., 1787 A.D.

Ali Quli Mirza Itzad-us-Saltanat. *Tarıkh-ı-Waqaya-o-Swaneh Afghanıstan.* Tehran, 1273 A.H., 1856-7 A.D.

Ali-ud-Din. *Ibrat Namah.* MS. 1854 A.D. History of the Panjab. IO., PUL., KCA.

Aman-ul-Haq. *Arshad-u-Mustaqim.* MS. 1818 A.D. PPL.

Anand Ram Mukhlis. *Tazkirah-ı-Anandram.* MS. MUA., JNS., KCA. Contemporary and very useful. Ends 1748 A D. Anand Ram Mukhlis, son of Raja Hirde Ram Khatri, was a resident of Lahore. He was an eminent writer and poet. In 1719-20 he was appointed vakil for Nawab Qamar-ud-Din Khan, and was also a vakil for Nawab Abdus-Samad Khan of Lahore and Multan. He died at Delhi in 1751. His *Tazkirah* is very useful for the first Indian invasion of Ahmad Shah.

Bakht Mall. *Khalsa Namah.* MS. 1225-29 A.H., 1810-14 A.D. BM., PUL., KCA., RAS. History of the Panjab, with particular reference to the Sikhs.

Beal, Thomas William *Miftah-ut-Tawarikh.* Ptd. Cawnpur, 1867-8. Biographical sketches of the leading historical personages of India. It is on this work that his Oriental Biographical Dictionary in English is mostly based.

Behari Lal bin Badri Das. *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah-va-Ali Muhmmad Khan-va-Donde Khan.* MS. 1201 A.H., 1787 A.D. SJH., KCA. The author was a *munshi* of Najib-ud-Daulah. His account of his master's transactions with Ahmad Shah is very useful. I have used the manuscript in the private library of Nawab Salar

Jang of Hyderabad Deccan from where it was transcribed for me by Munshi Faizul Haq Amritsari. The transcription is now preserved in the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

Budh Singh Arora. *Risalah-i-Nanak Shah.* MS. ND. BM., MUA., KCA. A History of the Sikhs written for James Browne of East India Company's service, about 1785, with the collaboration of *Munshi* Ajaib Singh of Maler (Kotla).

Bute Shah *alias* Ghulam Muhy-ud-Din. *Tarikh-i-Panjab.* MS. 1848. BM., PUL, PPL, KCA, GS., VSA., ALP A comprehensive history of the Panjab, written by a Munshi of the British Residency at Ludhiana. It supplies useful details of some of the invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

Daulat Rai. *Mirat-i-Daulat-i-Abbasi* MS. 1262 A H., 1846 A.D. OPB., KCA., ALP. A history of the Bahawalpur State, very helpful in supplying details of the events connected with Bahawalpur, Multan, Baluchistan and Sindh.

Faiz Muhammad, Mirza. *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh* Kabul, 1913.

Faqir Muhammad. *Jame-ut-Tawarikh.* Calcutta, 1836; Cawnpore, 1874. A general history of Islam, with chapters on Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani, giving accounts of their Indian invasions.

Farhad Mirza. *Tarikh-i-Afghan.* Tehran, ND.

Farzand Ali. *Mulakhas-u-Tawarikh.* Ptd. Agra, 1247 A.H., 1831-32. MS. RSL., ASB., BM., OPB This is an abridgment of Ghulam Husain Khan's *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.*

Ganesh Das Badehra. *Risalah-i-Sahib Numa Chahar Gulshan-i-Panjab.* MS. 1912 Bk , 1855 A.D. GS., KCA. This is a general history of the Panjab, written by a Qanungo of Gujrat, who seems to have been in possession of a good deal of material for the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly about the happenings in the neighbourhood of Gujrat (Panjab).

Ghulam Ali Khan Azad. *Khazanah-i-Amira.* Ptd. Cawnpur, 1871, 1900. This is a contemporary work, completed in about 1763. The main work is devoted to short notices of well-known poets and contemporary historical personages. The accounts of Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din, Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang, Alamgir Sani, Shah Alam Sani, the Marathas, etc., and of the invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani up to 1762 are very useful.

Ghulam Ali Khan. *Shah Alam Namah.* Calcutta, 1912-14. (ASB. MS. New Series No. 1324 and 1392). MS. BM., IO, ASB.

Ghulam Ali Khan, Sayyad. *Imad-us-Saadat.* Cawnpur, 1864. Mostly deals with the history of Oudh and Bengal, with chapters on Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Marathas and the invasions of Ahmad Shah.

—— *Nigar Namah-i-Hind.* MS. BM An account of the battle of Panipat based mainly on information received from Kashi Raj.

Ghulam Husain Khan *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.* Calcutta, 1836; Cawnpore, 1897. A comprehensive history of India from 1118 A.H. to 1194 A.H. (1706-80 A.D.).

Ghulam Husain Samin. *Halat-i-Amdan-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani dar Hindustan dar* 1169 Hijri. MS. RSL, KCA. The author was present in the camp of Ahmad Shah in the neighbourhood of Agra and Mathura during the fourth invasion and had personal knowledge of many of the political transactions which took place there. This account was translated into English by William Irvine in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1907. I have used the Persian manuscript transcribed under my instructions from the Rampur State Library for the Khalsa College Amritsar.

Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar. *Ahmad Shah Baba-i-Afghan.* Matba-i-Amumi, Kabul, 1322 Sh.

Ghulam Muhy-ud-Din. *Zafar Namah-i-Muin-ul-Mulk.* MS. 1162 A H., 1749 A.D. BM., PUL., KCA. It is a contemporary account of the first two invasions of Ahmad Shah, in which Muin-ul-Mulk, the subject of this work, was directly concerned.

Haqiqat-i-Bina-o-Uruj-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan. MS. RAS, KCA. It is a short history of the Sikhs up to the conquest of Multan by Taimur Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, from the Bhangi Misal of the Sikhs. It is almost a contemporary account of the last days of Ahmad Shah. Its authorship has been wrongly ascribed by Dr. G. L. Chopra to Taimur Shah Abdali. He, and some other writers like him, have misunderstood the words *'by Taimur Shah Abdali'* given in the description of the work in Morley's Catalogue (Items LXXXIII and LXXXIV) of Persian Mss in the Royal Asiatic Society, London. In reality these words refer to the conquest of Multan by Taimur Shah Abdali and not to the authorship of the book.

Harcharan Das. *Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai.* MS. 1201 A.H., 1787 A.D. PUL., KCA. Partly translated into English by Munshi Sada-Sukh Lal. BM. MS. Addl. 30782, ff. 113-205 It is a general history of India from the earliest times to the date of compilation, with particular references to Delhi and its neighbourhood, and also to Oudh. His account of Shuja-ud-Daulah, after whom the work is named, is very useful.

Harsukh Rai. *Majma-ul-Akhbar.* MS. 1214 A H, 1799-1800 A D. DAD., KCA.

Husain Shirazi Karbalai, Sayyad. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani,* translated into Persian from Muhammad Abdur Rahman ibn Haji Muhammad Raushan Khan's book. BM. MS. Or. 3550.

Husain-ullah, Sheikh. *Fateh Namah.* A *masnavi* on Ahmad Shah's first invasion of India, MS. Late 18th century. BNP. iii, 1934.

Imad-ul-Mulk, Tazkirah-i-. MS. OUH., KCA., OPB., BM., BNP, RAS., ASB. An account of the Mughal Empire from 1167 A.H. to Shawwal, 1171 A.H., July 1754 to June 1758. Incomplete; beginning with folio 27 and ending with 187.

The OUH manuscript is called *Zafar Namah-i-Alamgiri, Mughal Badshahat* and *Janishinan-i-Alamgir,* on the title and inside. Judg-

ing from the detailed account of Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk given therein and from the manner in which he is occasionally referred to, I have given it the name of *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*. It is being used for the first time.

Imam-ud-Din al-Husaini. *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi*, also called *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani, Marka-i-Shahan-i-Durrana, Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, etc MS. 1213 A.H., 1789 A.D. OPB., ASB., JNS , KCA., BNP , RAS It is a history of the Durranis from the time of Ahmad Shah to 1798, when Zaman Shah was ruling in Afghanistan.

Jamal-u-Din Afghani *Tatimma-tul-Bayan-fi-Tarikh-ul-Afghan* (Arabic), translated into Persian by Muhammad Amin Khogyani, Kabul, and into Urdu, under the title of *Tarikh-i-Afghanistan*, by Maulavi Mahmud Ali Khan (for Sufi Printing and Publishing Coy., Pindi Baha-ud-Din). Lahore, ND.

Kalyan Singh. *Khulasa-tu-Tawarikh*. MS. 1227 A H., 1812 A.D. OPB. A history of the Mughal Emperors of India from Babur to Akbar Shah II.

Kashi Raj. *Ahwal-i-Jang-i-Bhau-va-Ahmad Shah Durrani*. Ms. 1780 A.D. RSL., KCA., BM., BUL., IO. Translated into English by James Browne in 1791 (Asiatic Researches, Vol. III, 1799); reprinted and edited by H G. Rawlinson as "An Account Of The Last Battle Of Panipat", for the Bombay University, 1926. Most of it is retranslated by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in IHQ June, 1934. I have used the Rampur State manuscript.

Kashi Raj, a South Indian, was in the service of Nawab Safdar Jang and his son Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah who was an ally of Ahmad Shah. As such, his account is very useful.

Khushwaqt Rai. *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*. MS. 1811 A.D. G.S., PPL., KCA., ALP. An unique Urdu translation of it is available in my collection.

Kirpa Ram. *Gulab Namah*. Sri Nagar, 1932 Bk., 1875 A.D.

—— *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*. Lahore, 1870.

Mahmud-ul-Musannai bin Ibrahim-al-Husaini *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*. MS. BM. 1171 A.H., 1757-8 A.D. An account of Ahmad Shah Durrani from his rise to power to his fourth invasion of India. BM. Or. 196., BUL., GS.

—— *Talkhis-i-Ahmad Shahi*. MS. BM. Or. 2059., GS. An abridgment of *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*.

Mahmud-ul-Musawi. *Ahwal-i-Aqwam-i-Chahargana-i-Afghan* (*Kitab-i-Aqvam-va-Firqa-hai Afghan*). MS. BM. Or. 1861. An account of the four Afghan tribes, Abdali or Durrani, Ghiljai, Bardurani or Rohela and Sur or Yusufzai with their clans, and notices of their leading men from the rise of the Durranis to the reign of Shujah-ul-Mulk.

Mittar Sain Kayasth. *Daur Namah*. MS. 1207 A. H., 1792-3 A.D. MUA (AS)., KCA. A history of the Najibabad Ruhila family.

Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari.* MS. 1812 A.D. OPB., HSL., KCA. A general history of India, with very useful material for the Indian invasions of Ahmad Shah.

—— *Bahar-ul-Mawwaj.* Ms. OPB., B.M. On the same lines as above.

Muhammad Aslam. *Farhat-un-Nazirin.* MS. 1184 A.H., 1770-1 A.D. KSL. (Incomplete). A general history of India, very useful for the Indian invasions of Ahmad Shah.

Muhammad Bakhsh Ashub. *Karnamah.* MS. ASB (I). A masnavi having about 3000 couplets, written by command to celebrate the wars of Nawab Muin-ul-Mulk of Lahore who was pitched against Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1748-49.

Muhammad Hussain Azad. *Nigaristan-i-Fars.* Lahore, 1922.

Muhammad Jafar Shamlu. *Manazil-u-Fatuh.* BM., JNS., KCA. An account of the stages from Qandahar to Delhi, via Ghazni, Kabul, Peshawar and Lahore, and of the battle of Panipat, wherein the author was present.

Muhammad Jafar was a born servant of the Safavis. He had accompanied Ahmad Shah during his Indian invasions and was later attached to M. Beg Khan Hamadani (Iftikhar-ud-Daulah Firoz Jang) in India when the latter was in the service of Mirza Najaf Khan.

Muhammad Mahdi bin Muhammad Nasir Astarabadi. *Tarikh Jahan-kusha-i-Nadiri.* Bombay, 1293 A.H., 1876 A.D. ASB. 1845. MS., ALP.

—— *Durrah-i-Nadira.* Bombay, 1293 A.H., 1876-7 A.D. Mirza Muhammad Mahdi was a private Secretary to Nadir Shah and a contemporary of Ahmad Shah. For more details about him, see Lockhart's *Nadir Shah,* appendix III A, 292-96.

Muhammad Mir *alias* Arshad Khan. *Chahar Chaman Insha-i-Arshadi.* MS 1186 A.H., 1772 A.D. RSL. KCA.

Muhammad Mustajab Khan *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* MS. 1249 A.H , 1847 A D. RSL , KCA , PUL., PPL. Translated into English by C. Elliott under the title of "The Life of Hafiz-ool-Moolk Hafiz Rahmat Khan", London, 1831.

Muhammad Sa'd Yar Khan. *Gul-i-Rahmat.* MS. 1249 A.H., 1833 A.D. OPB., KSL., ALP. It is an abridgment of the *Gulistan-i-Rahmat.*

Muhammad Sadiq Nami. *Tarikh-i-Karim Khan,* also called the *Tarikh-i-Giti-Kushai* and *Tarikh-i-Zandiya* MS. 1195-1209 A.H., 1781-94 A.D. MUA., KCA. Cf. Abul Hasan.

Muhammad Saleh Qudrat. *Tarikh-i-Ali.* MS. December, 1785; written for James Browne, OPB., KCA. It is a general contemporary history of the Mughal Empire from the time of Bahadur Shah to the battle of Panipat, 1761, with a detailed account of some of the events of the Panjab.

Muhammad Wali-ullah. *Tarikh-i-Farrukhabad.* MS. RSL.

Murasalat-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani. A collection of letters addressed by and to Ahmad Shah Durrani, Emperor Shah Alam II, Ruhila

Afghans and Rajput Princes. 1173-76 A.H., 1759-62 A.D. KCA. These letters are a great original source of material on the Shah's transactions in India during the period covered by them.

Murtaza Husain Allayar Usmani Bilgrami. *Hadiqt-ul-Aqalim.* Lucknow, 1879 A.D.

Nazim, M. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar (Persian), Miscellaneous papers. Bombay, 1933.

Nizam-ud-Din Ishrat. *Nadir Namah.* 1166 A.H., 1753 A.D. MS. HSL., KCA., BM.

—— *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya.* MS. HSL , BM., KCA. A history of Ahmad Shah Durrani in verse. It is a contemporary work, but the historical material has to be carefully fished out and sifted. The poet-historian has allowed full play to his imagination.

Nur Muhammad Chela Sial, Maulavi. *Tarikh-i-Jhang Sial.* Meerut, 1863.

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Nur-ud-Din Hasan, Sayyad. *Ahwal-i-Nayib-ud-Daulah.* MS. ND. BM., KCA. (Rotograph). Compiled about 1773 A.D. Translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the *Islamic Culture,* July and October, 1933; April, 1934.

Qudratullah Siddiqi. *Jam-i-Jahan Numa.* MS. 1191-99 A.H., 1777-85 A.D. RSL., ALP. A general history of the Mughal empire, with detailed accounts of the Ruhilas and other Afghans.

Samin, Ghulam Husain See Ghulam Hussain Samin.

Shah Nawaz Khan, Samsam-ud-Daulah. *Maasir-ul-Umra,* edited by Abdur Rahim and Ashraf Ali. ASB. Calcutta, 1888-90. Biographical sketches of the nobles and officials of the Mughal empire. Also see Beveridge, H., under English.

Shah Nawaz Khan. *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa.* See Abdul Rahman.

Shakir Khan, Nawab. *Tazkirah-i-Shakir Khan.* MS. 1179 A.H., 1765 A D A contemporary Memoir. BM, IO., JNS, KCA.

Shamlu. See Muhammad Jafar Shamlu.

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—— Also see Kashi Raj under *PERSIAN*.

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